The Nation

July 16/23, 1990

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JUL 5

The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today

Elinor Langer

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LETTERS.

PANAMA STORY: STILL UNTOLD

Washington

As a critic of the United States' illegal invasion of Panama, I was impressed by Marc Cooper's article "The Press and the Panama Invasion" in your June 18 issue. His piece examines several important issues that the news media failed to report in their superficial and uncritical coverage of the Panama invasion and its aftermath.

Now, several months after the invasion, the major media continue to ignore the Panama story, even though many questions about the conduct of the invading forces remain unanswered. For example, I have repeatedly requested that the Defense Department release videotapes shot by the military during the invasion, including those taken from Apache helicopters. I have sought their release because Panamanian residents have complained that missiles fired by the Apaches caused most of the damage to apartment buildings. Although I have received some of the footage, I have been denied access to the Apache tapes on the ground that their release could damage the national security. I am currently appealing the decision.

Why aren't reporters pursuing this story more vigorously? After all, the Pentagon prevented them from covering much of the invasion, and it seems to me that the time has come to find out what really happened.

In addition, the political and economic situation in Panama is an unfolding tragedy. Unemployment is worse than before the invasion, and people in the bombed-out neighborhoods have not been compensated for the losses that they suffered during the fighting. Not surprisingly, displeasure with the U.S.-installed regime is rising, but the numerous protests and organized expressions of discontentment find little echo in the U.S. press.

Even with such coverage, however, the American people need more information to evaluate current events. If, as Cooper's piece suggests, the news media had run more stories on the political, social and racial composition of the new government, the American people could more accurately assess the meaning of political developments and increasing social ferment in Panama today. They could also be better judges of the actions and policies of their own government. *Charles B. Rangel*
Member of Congress

THE GENERALS, SENDERO & COCA

Santiago, Chile

The article by Peter Andreas on Peru's coca production and the contradictions of U.S. policy, "Peru's Addiction to Coca Dollars" [April 16], is very well done, but I would make one emendation regarding human rights figures. Andreas states, "[President Alan] García has failed either to limit the spread of the insurgency or to curb the gross human rights violations committed by the military. Political killings have increased dramatically, jumping 60 percent last year to 3,198." These two sentences, taken separately, are each correct. But combined they are seriously misleading.

The implication is that the Peruvian military is responsible for all those killings, that we have a sort of El Salvador situation in which the violations are overwhelmingly one-sided. In fact, the figure Andreas cites is from the report of a special Peruvian Senate commission on violence, and that report makes clear—as do all Peru's human rights groups—that more than half the killings are believed to be attributable to Sendero Luminoso.

In clarifying this point I do not intend to apologize for or diminish in any way the military's systematic abuses of human rights in Peru, which include disappearances, rape and torture, as well as murder. But one cannot understand the terrible and complex Peruvian situation—including the dynamics of coca cultivation in the Upper Huallaga Valley—without understanding that Sendero is as brutal as the army and police, that its methods of killing are often grotesque, in short that in Peru's internal conflict there are no comfortable sympathies with either side but only with the victims. In Peru, Sendero is considered and publicly called terrorist by labor federations, leftist political parties and many of the peasants in the Upper Huallaga whose economic plight Andreas describes so well; and they have reason to know.

Cynthia Brown
Consultant on Peru
Americas Watch

CANCELLATION . . .

Hollywood, Fla.

Several years ago my husband and I discontinued our subscription to *The Nation* because of its outrageous pro-Arab, anti-Israel articles. Recently we decided to resubscribe and, lo and behold, in a June 11 editorial, "Cycle of Madness," you had the absolute gall to state that the killing of seven Arabs by a deranged Israeli ex-soldier was "a setup, an 'irrational' piece of a very rational—and brutal—pattern of murderous repression, dehumanization and racism developed and promoted by a significant segment of Israel's leadership and endorsed by a large number of Jewish citizens for many years."

You so conveniently leave out the nine Israeli tourists who were visiting Egypt and were gunned down by an Arab terrorist group; the Achille Lauro murder; the bombing of Israeli buses killing and maiming women and children and an apparent attempt to kill innocent people by a close aide of your favorite "statesman" Yasir Arafat on a beach in Israel which, fortunately, was foiled.

It is obvious that Israel has many problems, one of them being that because of Arab hostility toward the State of Israel it has become so militaristic that it sometimes clouds over rational thinking. But there have been many incidents of Israelis who protest the settlements on the West Bank and who desperately want peace with the Arabs. It is also unfortunate that the religious right in Israel has more power in relation to its numbers than it should. But why do you fan the flame of anti-Semitism with your warped statements?

I am sure you will not see fit to print this letter as we will surely not see fit to renew our subscription. *Annette J. Lefkowitz*

. . . AND RENEWAL

Portland, Ore.

Your editorial "Cycle of Madness" is superb. It has prompted me to renew my subscription more quickly than I normally would. The cruel and vindictive Israeli policies toward the Palestinians, and Arabs in general, richly deserve an editorial like yours. What possible logic is there to the argument that "everybody does it" whenever an Israeli commits an atrocity? And why is the perpetrator "deranged" while a similar Palestinian act is committed by a "terrorist"? Some of the most anti-Semitic statements made come from supporters of Israel, for as you know, Arabs are also Semites.

The Nation is right on target when it refers to "the context of a Jewish political culture that despises Arabs, wishes them dead or deported and literally cheers their brutalization." Thank you for journalistic courage that is all too rare. *Gerald G. Toy*

OIL ON TROUBLED WATERS

Fairport, N.Y.

A flag amendment now seems as inevitable as the frequent oil spills off the coasts of America, but perhaps the first can help ward off the second: I suggest that Americans gather wherever there is an oil spill and cover the beach with flags. The oil that washes ashore will be desecrating Old Glory—Congress seems sure that the environment could recover, but that Old Glory carries forever each stain it receives. Could this action spur Congress into passing environmental legislation? It's worth a try.

Craig DeLancey

NEW WORDS SPELL TROUBLE

Daniel Singer prefers the combination of privilege and intelligentsia to read *priviligentsia* not *privilegentsia* [see "The Perils of *Perestroika*," July 2]. We apologize.

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CONTENTS.

Volume 251, Number 3

LETTERS
74

EDITORIALS
75 Nazis Among Us
76 Out of Africa — *Andrew Kopkind*
77 Two Friends

COLUMNS
77 First Lady — *Calvin Trillin*

78 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
80 Beltway Bandits — *David Corn*
81 Modern Myths: Fall of Icarus — *Edward Sorel*

ARTICLES
82 Special Report: The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today — *Elinor Langer*

Cover: drawing by David Levine/design by J-C Suarès

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Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

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The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1990 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $36; two years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. This issue went to press on June 28.

EDITORIALS.

Nazis Among Us

On the surface Elinor Langer's essay in this special issue of *The Nation*, "The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today," concerns a narrow spectrum of the ultraright: the White Aryan Resistance, the skinheads, the Posse Comitatus, the Ku Klux Klan and others of their ilk. It is undoubtedly true that for the most part these hatemongers—while they bear full responsibility for their despicable actions—are themselves accidental victims of a weird amalgam of forces that includes economic dislocation, personality disorder and nuclear age anomie.

But it is impossible to read Langer's account of anti-Semitism and racism at the fringes without the ominous sense that it also contains a message about our culture at its core, a distant early warning of the perils that racial thinking and ethnic conflict hold for the future. There is, one might claim, a direct line between the burgeoning neo-Nazi *Zeitgeist*, symbolized by the Republican candidacies of David Duke, the former Klan Imperial Wizard in Louisiana, and Ralph Forbes, formerly of the American Nazi Party in Arkansas, and the Reagan-Bush legacy with its Southern strategy of pitting whites against black "special interests," its racist Willie Horton ads and its ambivalence toward the Nazis, which brought us Reagan's visit to Bitburg as well as a former Nazi collaborator playing an important role in Bush's campaign organization. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to hang too much of America's racism on the Republicans. Indeed, it could be argued that for some time now race has been the subtext that has held together the largely Democratic neoconservative coalition.

The neo-Nazi message of racial purity may have a dark appeal at this particular moment in our history when we seem to be in the midst of a national identity crisis. At home, media manipulation and big money have replaced

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participatory politics as critical elements in the democratic dream; and although the cold war era may be ending, its curriculum lingers on, teaching the cynical lesson that deception and covert action are the way to go. No wonder only about 50 percent of the eligible electorate votes nationally, far less in most local primary elections. No wonder so many of the dispossessed and disenfranchised are vulnerable to exploitation by a movement that promises a sense of self and an avenue to power.

Politics can consist either of dialogue or denial. The neo-Nazi current has swelled in part through a tendency of the media to treat them, if at all, as a freak show, and through a general unwillingness to confront the meaning of this virulent movement. Elinor Langer's troubling report makes such evasions more difficult.

GUESS WHO'S COMING TO DINNER

You wouldn't expect senators to sit down and sup congenially with the leader of a dreaded terrorist organization. But that's exactly what Senators Alan Simpson, Ernest Hollings and Don Nickles did when they dined with Nelson Mandela in Washington last week. Five years ago, amid contentious debate on the sanctions-imposing Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, these three lawmakers joined eighteen colleagues to vote for an amendment that declared the African National Congress a terrorist group. The measure sought to impose travel restrictions on A.N.C. members in the United States and prohibit the organization from fund-raising here until it renounced the use of violence and cut its ties with the South African Communist Party.

Despite having branded Nelson Mandela and the A.N.C. as terrorists—and having attempted, essentially, to ban the group in the United States—Simpson, Hollings and Nickles were gracious enough to break bread with Mandela at a banquet in his honor in the Senate. Some right-wing members of Congress tried to arrange a boycott of Mandela's address to Congress, but Simpson, Hollings and Nickles—as well as Senators Orrin Hatch, Jake Garn, Charles Grassley and Pete Wilson, all of whom also supported the 1985 amendment—joined the throng applauding Mandela's speech. (By the way, Wilson is in a very tight race for governor in California.) It's touching that these men are big enough to let bygones be bygones.

NOTE

With this issue, *The Nation* begins its summer schedule, during which the magazine will come out every other week. The next issue will be dated July 30/August 6. We will resume our regular schedule with the September 10 issue.

Out of Africa

"This is Immigration," the caller said to the White House liaison, with a hint of perplexity in his voice. "We've got an African revolutionary here who's been in jail for twenty-seven years for sabotage and terrorism. We helped to lock him up in the first place. He's in league with the Communists and he says he embraces Qaddafi, Castro and Arafat as 'comrades in arms.' He's waging a violent struggle to take over his country, and if he wins he'll nationalize the banks, mines and heavy industry and redistribute land and wealth. He's traveling with a woman who is suspected of abetting the beating and death of a 14-year-old boy. And he says he wants to see the President in the Oval Office and address a joint session of Congress. Shall we let him in?"

That the answer was yes shows the power of Nelson Mandela to transcend the categories of acceptability established and protected by politicians and the news media in the United States for the better part of this century. It also indicates how a powerful mass base—millions of African-Americans—can determine political consciousness, create heroes and validate radical change. And finally it demonstrates that the honesty, commitment and integrity of one person may prevail against the hypocrisy and mendacity of great congresses and their battalions.

Only two years ago Congress tried to declare Mandela's African National Congress a terrorist organization. In the presidential election of 1988 Jesse Jackson chased Michael Dukakis through the primaries trying to wring a promise to support sanctions against South Africa, but Dukakis demurred—because of the unacceptability of the A.N.C.'s stand on armed struggle and the organization's support of Palestinian liberation movements. Jackson had put South Africa on the political agenda in 1984 when he succeeded in having sanctions against South Africa written into the Democratic Party platform at the national convention in San Francisco. The Mondale forces hadn't even thought to mention South Africa in their campaign, and the issue evoked not much more than a yawn from white Democrats.

The transformation of those attitudes of indifference, hostility and, of course, racism in the space of a few short years is a truly remarkable event in American political life. Mandela's U.S. tour is not yet finished at this writing, but it has been clear from the day he touched down in New York that it is a nodal point in the development of American consciousness about race, world relationships and the direction of history. When he leaves, the exhilaration will surely abate, but the point has been passed, and things will never seem quite the same.

Nelson Mandela did not produce the transformations, but his visit dramatically confirmed and highlighted them, as figure against ground. The most obvious case is the arrival of blacks at a position of social and political importance in America that, if anything, exceeds their numerical percentage as a minority. Five of the cities Mandela was to visit have black mayors, but that is the least of it. Less than a

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decade ago blacks were ignored as a moving force in national life. The civil rights movement of the 1960s seemed like ancient history, and there were no prominent leaders in the sense that the media use the concept. But black power has come back in a different way. The issues of concern to the minority community became the program of the opposition to the entire Reagan-Bush project.

South Africa was crucial to that process, in ways very few white political analysts foresaw. In one sense, the struggle for majority power in South Africa did for African-Americans what the struggle to establish a homeland in Israel did for American Jews after World War II. It provided a context for nationalist aspirations that became an integral part of a people's identity—even for people who had no intention of changing their passports. African leaders have come to this country and have been welcomed with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Mandela was greeted with such emotion by black people in America because he seems to share an identity with them. He comes from a foreign country and speaks with a strange accent, but as one woman said to a reporter in Harlem, "He is us and we are him."

Mandela's triumph in America transcends racial identity, however. He is, after all, the first real excitement to happen to and for the left since—who can remember? At a time when practically every political commentator in the country has proclaimed the left dead and buried, Mandela reaffirms revolutionary values, socialist ideals and egalitarian sentiments. He refused to be intimidated by the ideological bullies who make most people who espouse his ideas eat their words. His responses to Ted Koppel on ABC's "town meeting" were breathtaking in their honesty and candor. It was wonderful to watch Jesse Jackson and David Dinkins wince when Mandela refused to qualify his support for Arafat. The bullies had crucified Jackson on that issue, and Dinkins squirmed through the election campaign because of the hostility of the majority of the Jewish electorate in New York. Mandela was not to be cowed.

For a few days during Mandela's visit the right seemed almost on the run. Some tried to discredit him on the question of armed struggle, but Mandela marched into Congress and met the issue head-on, and had the silly senators and representatives cheering. Representative William Dannemeyer of California, a parody of a right-wing crazy, compared Mandela to "H. Rap Brown or Willie Horton" and stayed away from the speech, but he was fairly isolated in his opposition. A more ominous absence was that of Vice President Quayle, who should have been presiding over the joint session with Speaker of the House Tom Foley. Where was Dan? His office said he was "in California, fundraising."

The Mandela trip will not rejuvenate the left, but it did give the left a sense that all is not lost. In New York the most militant grass-roots sectors of the black community more or less assumed command of the huge Harlem rally just before Mandela went to speak at Yankee Stadium. Nothing like it has been seen in the city since the heyday of the Panthers. Mandela did not join in the particular politics of the Harlem event, but neither did he contradict the crowd. It was his method to lend himself to the entire spectrum of action and opinion that supports the South African struggle—from Castro to Congress.

Nelson Mandela is a world-historical figure, and it is natural that everyone with whom he has contact will try to claim him for their own. Mario Cuomo hogged the spotlight in the "Mandelamobile" as it proceeded through lower Manhattan. Mayor Ray Flynn of Boston told anyone who would listen that he was the one who advised Mandela to tell black children to stay in school. The Kennedy clan gave Mandela a star-studded lunch and acted as if they were responsible for the defeat of apartheid. Everyone wanted a piece of the action. And for once there was enough to go around.

ANDREW KOPKIND

Two Friends

In June *The Nation* lost two good friends, Cedric Belfrage and Jack Gilford. Belfrage made us think, and Gilford made us laugh; both were cold war victims. In 1956 the Immigration and Naturalization Service deported Belfrage "on grounds of Communist Party membership." Belfrage was not a member of the party, and the government's action really had to do with stories in *The National Guardian*, which he co-edited with James Aronson, questioning the reigning orthodoxy. Belfrage refused to cooperate with what he dubbed "the American inquisition," as did Jack Gilford, the actor, who was blacklisted for his defiance of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He was a sweet, funny, talented man with a tough conscience.

★

FIRST LADY

I.

We're grateful for the Premier Spouse we've got.
We value her for all the things she's not.
We're pleased she doesn't seem to be obsessed
With how her hair is done and how she's dressed.
Her visits with her kids (and with her spaniel)
Seem more than show, and more than semi-annual.
Regarding those whose greed and glitzy ways
Remind historians of Rome's last days,
She knows the sort of trough in which one doesn't wallow.

II.

It always helps to have an easy act to follow.

Calvin Trillin

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Appointment in Samoa

Somewhere about level with Leggett, heading up 101 into California's north country, the colors change and the grasses, by this time in the summer dried farther south to pale gold, still ripple green on the open slopes below the trees. At Garberville we pulled the car off the highway and went into a bar to figure out the back road to Honeydew, the Earth First! base camp for the start of Redwood Summer.

A fellow with a bashed-up face, maybe a pot grower, maybe schooled in the arts of back-country preparation of methamphetamines, gave guidance and we swung west into cool lanes lined with wild foxglove. A lot of this area was logged in the 1950s. Then a man called Bob McKee bought slabs of land and sold off pieces to hippies and kindred souls at attractive rates. If they ran out of cash, McKee got their free labor in his mill. The new immigrants have looked after the land well, cleaning out streams blocked by careless logging, nursing salmon runs back to health.

At sundown we found the base camp, on federal B.L.M. land in a curve in the Mattole River. There had already been a couple of stories on the TV news about naked frolickers, and as we clambered out of my 1957 Plymouth station wagon I remarked to F. that with both of us heading round the curve into our fiftieth year I could imagine how grizzled F.B.I. snoops felt back in the summer of love, pulling tie-dyes down over their beer bellies, flashing the peace sign and heading hopefully toward the love-in.

In fact the Earth Firsters were sitting in a big circle debating tactics for the next day's action, aimed at blocking the main gate of Louisiana Pacific's lumber export plant at Samoa, twenty miles north over the hills, outside Eureka. Since I was a scheduled speaker at Samoa, the circle decided I was "an actionist not a journalist" and kindly let me stay. I liked the way the meeting was handled. A "facilitator" took note of who wanted to speak and remarks were pretty brief. All the same, "consensing" is essentially undemocratic, since it elides the right to form a minority faction prepared to go along with the final decision while publicly expressing disagreement.

A crisp fellow finally said that so far as he could see, the next day's objectives were to support the I.W.W. picket at the plant at 7 in the morning; listen to the speeches at 11; and then, those who wanted to, block the logging trucks. All said aye to that one. F. took his sleeping bag into the grass, but I didn't fancy being squashed by some belated four-wheeler looking for a parking spot and slept up on the tailgate of the Plymouth, after the usual spell of trying and failing to identify the constellations.

The only people who cleared camp at 5 and got to the picket at 7 were these same two fellows near the half-century mark. Age brings punctuality. Lenin, not big on consensing, kept his watch ten minutes fast. He probably wouldn't have enjoyed base camp or the north country that much. Krupskaya once tried to get him out of Zurich to take the day off, relaxing in the Alps and admiring nature. He tried but stayed fidgety, finally crying out to Krupskaya in exasperation, "Those bloody Mensheviks spoil everything." Too bad he didn't think more in the mode of the Italian Marxist Labriola, who said, "Men, living socially, do not cease to live also naturally. . . . nature is always the immediate subsoil of the artificial terrain of society, and is the ambience which envelops us all."

Marx took the view that "the nature that preceded human history no longer exists anywhere," which has its truth but became the animating proposition for central planners savaging nature in the name of "human history," *a k a* annual growth targets. With our backs to the ocean, looking across from the sand dunes at Louisiana Pacific's log export plant, we could see that L.P. executives are dedicated to proving Marx right. Extinguished nature here took the form of piles of logs, many of them barely more than saplings, ready to be chipped or pulped or trimmed and sent out of the country, often returning as finished goods.

Every five minutes or so a new logging truck would come hurtling along the Samoa road. There's carnage going on in the swaths of old growth as the big logging companies step up the cutting pace, fearing new regulation will mute the chain saws. Sometimes a trucker would slow to take a leaflet from one of the I.W.W. pickets, whereupon a voice would immediately blare from the company gate, "Move it, move it," while off-duty cops on day contract to L.P. would film each potential leaflet reader.

The Divine Plan

"What a perfect scene," a man standing next to me on a sand dune exclaimed. It was now after noon and to my eye the scene was far from perfect. Aside from maimed nature in the L.P. plant, a plume of toxic smoke coming from Simpson Paper next door, and the day's outflow of 40 million gallons of L.P. and Simpson effluent pouring through a waste pipe into the Pacific behind us, the police were at that moment arresting people who had stopped a logging truck from entering the plant. One fellow from the sheriff's department, amid chants of "The whole world is watching," failed to prize an Earth Firster, Ian Baitz, from the truck's cab, finally kneed him in the balls and then maced him.

"It doesn't seem perfect to me," I said, and alluded to the features described. "That's all part of creation," he insisted with complacency, as we watched Baitz being dragged off. "Well, as a religious posture," I began, but the man cut me off. "It's not a religious posture. I'm just saying that it's part of creation and therefore perfect."

Later that day F. and I gave a lift to a youth in a tie-dye shirt from Boulder, Colorado, on his way to a Grateful Dead concert in Eugene. He said he carried only a Bible, and I began to take God's name in vain just to see how the land lay. He said he thought God meant well but was no match for the darker forces. This is the Gnostic position. "Which darker forces?" I asked.

"Lucifer, most beautiful of all the angels."

"Milton liked him too." I quoted Beelzebub's invocation to the devil in *Paradise Lost*: "If thou beest he;/ But O how fall'n! how chang'd/ From him who in the happy Realms of

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Light/. . . didst outshine/ Myriads though bright."

The Deadhead looked uncertain, and F. changed the subject. After we'd dropped him off in Trinidad, F. said he thought the Deadhead was a nice chap and shouldn't be mocked. Then later, in Arcata, we had a precise description of this same Deadhead from a musician who'd paid him $25 for acid tabs, all of which turned out to be useless. In his Bible the Deadhead obviously had not got as far as God's instructions to Moses on the subject of theft.

Back at the demonstration the police ended up arresting forty-four. Earth Firsters certainly know how to have fun on an action. A good band—Clan Dyken—played through the arrests, and a couple of drummers pounded away as young protesters danced only a few inches from the boots of the helmeted officers of the Humboldt County Sheriff's Department and the California Highway Patrol. It's true that the crowd was 99.9 percent ponc (people of non-color), but that seems to be the general scene in the north country.

The Green and the Red

Katherine Bishop's story in *The New York Times* for the preceding day, June 19, busy covering its ass in the usual timid attempt to stand at "objective" arm's length from reality, quoted Murray Bookchin to the effect that Earth Firsters are "eco-fascists." I called Bookchin in Vermont and found him fuming. Bishop had pulled out a mangled quote from him, printed in the *Times* a year ago. She'd either missed or ignored his published letter correcting the record. "Never have I called Earth First! 'eco-fascist,' " he told me and said Earth Firsters are "among the most courageous people in the environmental movement." He does feel that deep ecology and biocentrism "can lead to misanthropy and therefore verge on eco-fascism, with a romantic mystical image of nature that has been used by great poets but also by reactionaries such as skinheads."

Earth First! does have a problem. Although a highly localized network of groups, its grass-roots activists constantly have to account for some appalling statements by one of the Earth First! founders, Dave Foreman, and its inspirer, the late Edward Abbey. Foreman, a convinced Malthusian, thought nature—i.e., famine—should take its course in Ethiopia and, like Abbey, favored the return of refugees to Mexico and Central America. A pseudonymous writer in *Earth First! Journal*, Miss Ann Thropy, said AIDS was desirable as a form of population control.

Since I think Earth First! contains some of the most vital and committed people in the country, I steered one of its founders, Mike Roselle, over the sand dunes to talk for a moment about the dilemma in which Foreman's and Abbey's remarks had placed Earth First!

Such statements, said Roselle, "are recognized as being racist, extremely ignorant and insensitive. . . . So the rest of us are left hanging, and we have to deal with this dirty laundry that Foreman has left all over the place and to defend ourselves on positions we don't even have. Any effort to resolve this has been met by the stubborn opposition of the current editors of the *Earth First! Journal*, John Davis and Dale Turner, two people not involved with the grass roots of Earth First! and handpicked by Foreman."

"What kind of values do Earth First! groups have?" I asked. Roselle answered, "You'll find our groups are part of this more progressive movement toward social justice and economic justice as well as environmental sanity."

"When we got involved in old growth ten years ago," he concluded, "the older groups said we couldn't organize in these sparsely populated timber communities. . . . We went out there, got arrested, beat up, sued, run over by bulldozers, and we'd come back. We slowly won a grudging respect from the loggers. They'd never seen a Sierra Clubber out there. We were accessible, and even if they didn't agree with us, they knew where we drank, they knew where we lived. The communities themselves became less afraid of us, and that's where the timber companies reacted and tried to portray us as a very violent, secretive, almost cultish force. But that's kind of a rear-guard defense action against us, and it's not working."

One reason it's not working is that loggers can see well enough that Louisiana Pacific plans to export not only its wood but its jobs too, building a plant near Ensenada, Mexico, where it can hire labor for about 74 cents an hour. The next major action of Redwood Summer is at Fort Bragg, California, on July 21; for details call (707) 468-1660.

We pulled away from Samoa and turned toward Trinidad, a beautiful fishing village just south of Patrick's Point. I wanted to look at the graveyard, where someone had told me there was an interesting stone. And there, at the back of the little cemetery, it was:

> E.B. Schnaubelt
> Born April 5, 1855, Died May 22, 1913
> Murdered by Capitalism

Sid Dominitz, editor of *Econews*, based down the road in Arcata, told me later that Schnaubelt's brother had been involved in the Haymarket bombing. E.B. had set up a lumber mill as a workers' co-op but then the big companies cheated him out of the land where the mill stood, though he still owned the plant. One night Schnaubelt, living nearby, thought he heard someone messing with his machinery. He went to investigate and a watchman hired by the companies shot him dead. His widow put up the stone and moved away. Local radicals now toast Schnaubelt on red-letter feast days.

F. and I headed south, mile upon mile through the evening and the redwood empire. We were late, which Lenin would not have approved of, but then socialism has some catching up to do if it is to go into partnership with ecology. Mind you, ecology has some catching up to do as well. As my friend James O'Connor put it recently, "We need 'socialism' at least to make the social relations of production transparent, to end the rule of the market and commodity fetishism, to end the exploitation of human beings by other human beings; we need 'ecology' at least to make the social productive forces transparent, to end the degradation and destruction and exploitation of the earth."

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ Everybody Look What's Going Down

In the rich-looking crowd in the Grand Foyer of the Kennedy Center, two lobbyists, eyes darting, scanned those assembled. "There's one," said lobbyist #1, sighting an off-the-rack politician: blue suit and gray temples. The two dashed in his direction. "Senator, Senator," #1 implored, gaining the legislator's attention. He introduced himself and his colleague and added, "We're from Sprint." The Senator—James Exon, one of the eight Democrats on the communications subcommittee—nodded. "Good to see you," he said, remarking to lobbyist #2, "That's a beautiful dress." The conversation ended there, and the pair from Sprint wheeled and again surveyed the crowd. "Over there," said lobbyist #2, and they raced toward another middle-aged man with graying temples and a blue suit.

The scene was a major Democratic Party fundraiser, where 2,500 people had come to bathe in the nostalgia of Crosby, Stills and Nash and to support a party whose greatest hits are also receding in time. But much of the crowd was made up of lobbyists for businesses, law firms and unions, who had paid to make eye contact with their favorite lawmakers. The Sprint duo was representative. But to me their brief interaction with Exon had seemed a bit insubstantial. Not so, explained a friend who lobbies for a public interest group. The point is just to register with the member—let him (or, rarely, her) know you're there and you support the party. In theory, then when you do knock on the door to talk business, a synapse will shoot off in his brain, and the legislator will experience a feeling of warmth, knowing he's in the company of friends: "Now, haven't I seen that dress before?"

■ Beyond the Looking Glass

Amid all the lobbyists and legislators, there was little serious talk at the Democrats' big night out. Asked to characterize the fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans, Bob (Mr. Democrat) Strauss replied, "This is not a good forum for philosophical discussions." A grumpy Senator Dennis DeConcini griped, "We're too far to the left to sell to the American public." This from a man who's too close to Charles Keating to be able to discuss the one issue that did draw some attention during cocktails: the S&L crisis. Like a child learning to walk, the Democratic Party has taken a few tentative steps recently to tar President Bush and the Republicans with the biggest financial scandal in the history of the planet. But the Democrats' accusations do not emanate from a position of strength. They did little or nothing to prevent the deregulatory changes in the early Reagan years that turned S&Ls loose. Party leaders were not thrifty when it came to using their influence on behalf of troubled institutions. And then Democrats blithely accepted Bush's bailout plan.

Until the Democrats come forward with a different way of handling the scandal, their protests will ring hollow. Last year the party rejected an alternative bailout scheme proposed by Representatives Joseph Kennedy and Bruce Morrison. The two had come up with a common-sense way to deal with the S&L crisis. The federal government would not borrow to cover the funds lost. Borrowing only raises the cost of the bailout, plus it drives up interest rates and creates an invisible tax. Thus, they called for a pay-as-you-go approach to be funded by tax hikes on the well to do, who are more able to bear the burden and more likely to have benefited from the S&L deregulation. (Salon economist Felix Rohatyn is also pushing a pay-now plan, but his would be financed by a 5 percent tax surcharge across the board.) Kennedy intends to introduce a revised version of the proposal—a move that has not stirred the leadership. Unless they adopt a plan like Kennedy's, the Democrats should beg off the blame game. If they can't resist the urge, then they should play it early in the morning, while blow-drying in front of the bathroom mirror.

■ Friend or Doe

No one loves you when you're down and almost out. Over the past ten years, the Reagan-Bush administrations have often been charitable in their evaluations of Samuel Doe, who violently seized power in Liberia in 1980. In 1985, after Doe became President in an undisputedly fraudulent election, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker praised Doe's government for showing signs of "a democratic experience that Liberia and its friends can use as a benchmark for future elections." That year Doe passed Decree 88A criminalizing the dissemination of "rumors, lies and disinformation"; prohibited electoral participation of two major parties (one of whose leaders, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, was imprisoned for commenting that her country is run by "many idiots"); and shut down the leading independent newspaper. Still, in 1986, Crocker was effusive: "There is in Liberia today a civilian government based on elections . . . a journalistic community of government and nongovernment newspapers and radio stations, an ongoing tradition among the citizenry of speaking out, a new Constitution that protects those freedoms." Last October, Crocker's successor, Herman Cohen, reasserted U.S. support for the Doe regime shortly after Doe had closed two newspapers. Monrovia Radio reported that Cohen maintained Liberia was "on the right track."

There is good reason for the United States to have been gracious in assessing Doe's Liberia, which received nearly $500 million in U.S. economic and military aid between 1980 and 1987. Voice of America has a major transmitter in Liberia. The Navy has its Omega navigation system there. And the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, according to Cohen, plays a key role in gathering intelligence in western Africa.

But now that Doe is being threatened by rebels under Charles Taylor, the State Department, which hopes to preserve U.S. interests in Liberia, has come around to the conclusion that all might not be so swell there. Recently Cohen, speaking of the Doe government in the past tense, noted, "It was corrupt, it was repressive." Funny how it takes the possible fall of a dictatorial ally to concentrate the minds of the geopoliticians.

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Modern Myths: Fall of Icarus

EDWARD SOREL

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ARTICLES.

SPECIAL REPORT

The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today

ELINOR LANGER

The story you are about to read is an ugly one. If it were a film, it would be rated "R." On television, a solicitous commentator would warn parents to urge children from the room. It is the story of something secret becoming public; of something forbidden becoming permitted; of the long, slow re-emergence of racial thinking in the United States from its retreat after World War II to the point where it can once again energize action; of the gradual, tentative crystallization of a political movement openly aimed at white hegemony. The problems of understanding this phenomenon are many. Composed of elements ranging from the Ku Klux Klan of Connecticut to the skinheads of California, the racial movement is scattered and diverse, and on matters as important as its relationship to American society in general and American racism in particular, observers disagree.

I want to make it plain from the outset that I am not an authority on the neo-Nazi movement. I live in Portland, Oregon, where in November 1988 three skinheads murdered an Ethiopian man, and like many of my friends and neighbors, I was startled to see how—literally—close to home it had come. The murder took place in a neighborhood very near where my husband and I had lived when we first moved to Portland years before. Of the three assailants, one was a neighbor, living a few blocks away in a building in which I had just considered taking an office; the second was a rock musician and all-round counterculture personage who moved in circles close to those of our baby sitter as well as, at some points, close to mine; and the third was a recent homecoming king of a local high school with some of whose friends and schoolmates my own acquaintances also overlapped.

Originally, the boys were to have been tried jointly and, my attention having been caught, I arranged to write about the trial for this magazine. It then transpired that the cases were severed, and ultimately, because the defendants all pleaded guilty, there were no trials at all. But in the meantime, as you will see, the trail had led directly from the Portland skinheads, members of a local gang called East Side White Pride, to a California-based neo-Nazi organization called White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and to its youth arm, the Aryan Youth Movement (A.Y.M.), headed, respectively, by a man named Tom Metzger and his son, John, and my article on the Portland case had become this special issue of *The Nation* on the movement as a whole.

In introducing to *Nation* readers a subject that until recently I knew little about, I feel a certain diffidence; my chief comfort in doing so is that one of the things I have realized during this period is how little is generally known. Unlikely as it seems, there appears to be only a handful of scholars at work on specialized aspects of the movement, and as far as I have been able to learn there is no ongoing research of a general sociological nature. The books that are available have been written mostly by journalists, invariably as a result of having covered some local occurrence, but these, though useful, tend to suffer from an excess of anecdote and an absence of documentation. There are organizations that at first glance appear to know everything and without which no one looking at the neo-Nazi movement would get very far, but their interests also are specialized, and it soon becomes apparent that though their facts are indispensable their assumptions are arguable, and it is necessary to weigh their interpretations against one's own.

In writing about a subject that carries with it the automatic weight of its association with Nazi Germany, I find myself uncomfortable for another reason, suspended between caution and alarm. Especially about a movement as underreported as this one, you do not write, in the first place, merely to observe "This too will pass away"; you write to sound an alert. At the same time, you know that the tests of time are different and that historians of another generation will consider the evidence and say either that it was all simply part of another "Brown Scare" in which people, as usual, lost their heads, and some their civil liberties, or that a dangerous movement was on the rise and that we failed to discern it early enough and help stamp it out. I do not know where along that spectrum the truth of the neo-Nazi movement lies. I do know that it is among us, that it is violent and mean, and that it is time to open up the subject for further investigation and discussion so that out of a broader base of information and a variety of perspectives there can possibly be fashioned a sound response.

I.

In using the term "neo-Nazi," I am referring roughly to an array of groups and individuals, including:

§ Nazis: old-line groups principally descended from the American Nazi Party founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1959, whose members still appear in uniform, as well as other small Nazi-identified parties and groupings whose members usually do not.

§ The skinheads: youth gangs in various cities with names like Youth of Hitler and the Confederate Hammerskins—some, like San Francisco's American Front, openly connected

Elinor Langer, the author of Josephine Herbst *(Warner Books), is just completing a year as a visiting fellow in the Yale University American Studies program.* *Research for this article was supported, in part, by grants from the Fund for Investigative Journalism and the Dick Goldensohn Fund.*

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with Metzger's WAR, and some not; skinheads are the fastest-growing wing of the movement today.

§ The Ku Klux Klan: no longer the centralized Klan of previous eras, but three separate and rival Klan federations and innumerable splinter groups; it is a government-infiltrated and at times government-manipulated Klan, a shadow of its former self, many of whose units are, however, "Nazified" in that they cooperate freely with the Nazi groups (something that was unthinkable in the past, when the Klan's patriotism and the Nazis' Germanophilism invariably clashed) and share many of the same ideas.

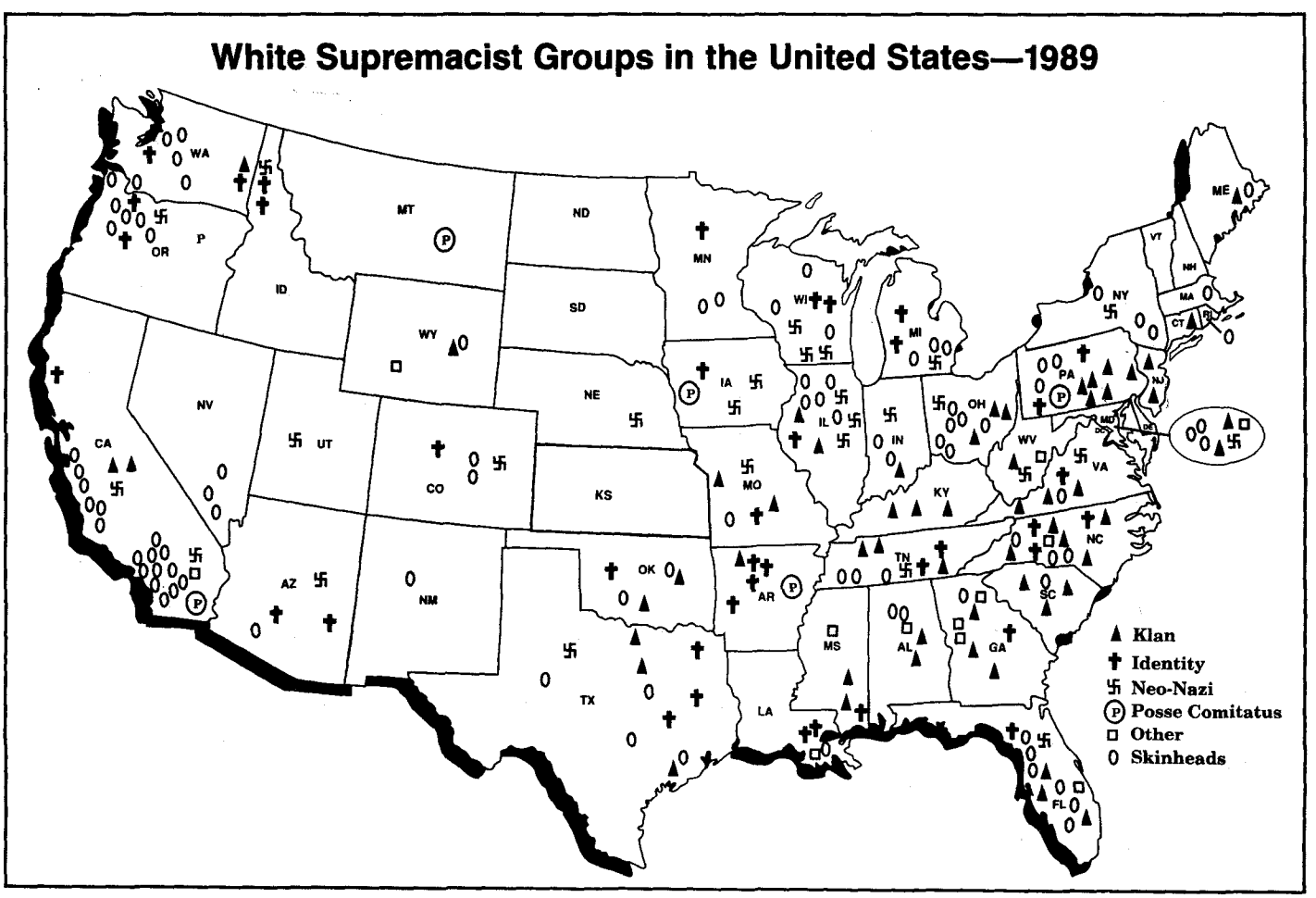
§ The Posse Comitatus: a decentralized, antistate and largely rural movement, which also appears as the Christian Patriots or American Freemen Association, whose adherents believe, among other things, that all government should be rooted at the county level and that cooperating with any higher authority, including the I.R.S. or, indeed, even the state Department of Motor Vehicles, is wrong.

§ The Christian Identity movement: an Aryan-inspired religious denomination descended from a nineteenth-century movement known as Anglo-Israelism or British Israelism, which holds that the "chosen people" of the Bible are white Anglo-Saxons, that Jews are descended from Satan and that all nonwhites are "pre-Adamic" "mud people," a lower species than whites; it is a religious movement that, as in the case of Idaho's Aryan Nations-Church of Jesus Christ, Christian (as opposed to Jesus Christ, Jew), is often indistinguishable from a political one.

The Nature of the Movement

In the phrase "neo-Nazi movement," both the terms "neo-Nazi" and "movement" require further discussion, and they have to be argued together. If you look at the map below, recently issued by the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (S.P.L.C.) in Montgomery, Alabama, you will see that while it includes the categories listed above, it uses the overall heading "white supremacist" and reserves "neo-Nazi" for the groups that had their genesis with Rockwell. The term "white supremacist" is also used by another major monitoring organization, the Center for Democratic Renewal in Atlanta. The problem with this usage, it seems to me, is not that it is wrong but that it does not go far enough, retaining an old-fashioned, unduly Southern and narrowly political flavor that fails to reflect the modern racialism that comes to us directly from the Nazi era and that I think is the essential characteristic these groups share. The neo-Nazi label does have varying degrees of applicability. James Farrands, Imperial Wizard of The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with whom I spoke a few months ago, was indignant at being associated with neo-Nazis and at pains to assure me that "you don't have to be a Nazi to be an anti-Semite," and to find a member of the Posse Comitatus with the same revulsion would not be difficult. But for the most part these organizations have no enemies to the right. If there are those within the movement who object to their Nazi bedfellows, they do not generally make themselves heard.

More important than any differences among the groups is



Source: Klanwatch

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the fact that the individuals within them function together as a movement and know that they are one—a point on which the two monitoring organizations mentioned above, as well as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (A.D.L.), largely agree. Klan and Nazi units have worked together at least since their combined assault on anti-Klan demonstrators at a rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979, in which five were killed, three of them members of the Communist Workers Party. Klan/neo-Nazi joint appearances on occasions such as an annual gathering in Pulaski, Tennessee, honoring the founding of the Klan—this year also attended by Aryan Nations pastor Richard Butler—have become routine. The symbol for the Klan on the map near Spokane, in eastern Washington, for example, refers to Kim Badynski, who recently relocated to the Northwest from Chicago, where his Klan faction was closely associated with various Nazi groups. He is now close to pastor Butler and the Aryan Nations group in Idaho, at whose compound he has often appeared with the person represented on the map by the swastika east of Portland, Rick Cooper, publisher of a newsletter called "National Socialist Vanguard Report," who is proud to call himself a Nazi and would probably satisfy anyone's definition. Other visitors to the Idaho compound, whose annual Aryan Nations congress has been one of the central gathering points of the movement for several years, have included skinheads, Identity Christians, Posse associates and so on. An Aryan martyrs list saluted throughout the movement would include not only Robert Mathews, founder of the violent brotherhood called "The Order," whose death in a 1984 shootout with the F.B.I. on Whidbey Island, Washington, is commemorated by an annual vigil, but also Gordon Kahl, a North Dakota Posse farmer convicted of tax evasion who killed two federal marshals attempting to serve a warrant for probation violation in 1983, and was himself killed in an F.B.I. shootout in Arkansas a few months later. The mail-order catalogues of the Christian Patriots, a Posse group, and of the National Vanguard, a West Virginia Nazi group begun by Rockwell-follower William Pierce, not only offer many selections in their specialized areas (roughly, European prehistory and myth, in the case of the Nazis; the monetary system, in the case of the Patriots) but often overlap, featuring not only such classics as Carleton Putnam's *Race and Reason* (which is still winning converts) and Henry Ford's *The International Jew* (ditto) but such newer and highly influential tracts as *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Butz and *Did Six Million Really Die?* by Richard Harwood. If there is a household of an adherent of any wing of the movement that does not have a copy of *The Turner Diaries*, Pierce's fantasy of the violent overthrow of the U.S. government by patriotic guerrillas, I would be surprised (see excerpt at right).

To the readers of these books, Jews are the force controlling your life, blacks are genetically inferior and race mixing is the nearest thing to the end of the world this side of Armageddon. Although one group may start with the Jews and end with the blacks and another may start with the blacks and end with the Jews, they are linked by the newer idea that blacks are the latest woe that the Jews are heaping on the world. These are not the only convictions held in common, of course. Hostility to homosexuals and aliens, to name only two other groups, is also universal, though reflected less in the current ideological libraries than in the streets. But it is above all else the centrality of the Jew, even in the wake of the Holocaust, that makes me believe that "neo-Nazi" is the proper label for the movement in question. The quality of its hate and the direction of its intentions go beyond what we have seen in America before. As anomalous as it seems in a country in which blacks are not only the primary historical but also the primary daily victims of racism of every description, the Jew is, in-

From *The Turner Diaries*

August 1, 1993. Today has been the Day of the Rope—a grim and bloody day, but an unavoidable one. Tonight, for the first time in weeks, it is quiet and totally peaceful throughout all of southern California. But the night is filled with silent horrors; from tens of thousands of lampposts, power poles, and trees throughout this vast metropolitan area the grisly forms hang.

In the lighted areas one sees them everywhere. Even the street signs at intersections have been pressed into service, and at practically every street corner I passed this evening on my way to HQ there was a dangling corpse, four at every intersection. Hanging from a single overpass only about a mile from here is a group of about 30, each with an identical placard around its neck bearing the printed legend, "I betrayed my race." Two or three of that group had been decked out in academic robes before they were strung up, and the whole batch are apparently faculty members from the nearby UCLA campus.

In the areas to which we have not yet restored electrical power the corpses are less visible, but the feeling of horror in the air there is even worse than in the lighted areas. I had to walk through a two-block-long, unlighted residential section between HQ and my living quarters after our unit meeting tonight. In the middle of one of the unlighted blocks I saw what appeared to be a person standing on the sidewalk directly in front of me. As I approached the silent figure, whose features were hidden in the shadow of a large tree overhanging the sidewalk, it remained motionless, blocking my way.

Feeling some apprehension, I slipped my pistol out of its holster. Then, when I was within a dozen feet of the figure, which had been facing away from me, it began turning slowly toward me. There was something indescribably eerie about the movement, and I stopped in my tracks as the figure continued to turn. A slight breeze rustled the foliage overhead, and suddenly a beam of moonlight broke through the leaves and fell directly on the silently turning shape before me.

The first thing I saw in the moonlight was the placard with its legend in large, block letters: "I defiled my race." Above the placard leered the horribly bloated, purplish face of a young woman, her eyes wide open and bulging, her mouth agape. Finally I could make out the thin, vertical line of rope disappearing into the branches above. Apparently the rope had slipped a bit or the branch to which it was tied had sagged, until the woman's feet were resting on the pavement, giving the uncanny appearance of a corpse standing upright of its own volition.

I shuddered and quickly went on my way. There are many thousands of hanging female corpses like that in this city tonight, all wearing identical placards around their necks. They are the White women who were married to or living with Blacks, with Jews, or with other non-white males.

The Turner Diaries *was written under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald by William Pierce, a former physicist who left a university teaching position to join George Lincoln Rockwell in 1966 and subsequently served as one of the leaders of the American Nazi Party and its successors. He currently heads the National Alliance, based in West Virginia, which publishes a monthly tabloid,* National Vanguard, *as well as a number of books, including this one.* The Turner Diaries *is offered for sale by every far-right mail-order business in the United States and is widely believed to have served as the model for the crimes of The Order. Pierce was an important early influence on Robert Mathews.*

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creasingly, the ultimate target; and lest the logic elude you, it is that, out of fear of being recognized as a race themselves, the Jews have conceived and implemented a variety of political strategies, of which integration is only the most offensive, designed to minimize racial differences in general. The significance of the historic shift on the far right from the dominance of the Klan to the dominance of the Nazi-influenced skinheads and others is in fact precisely the linkage of blacks and Jews in an explicitly genocidal context. The cartoons on pages 92 and 93, a WAR video that opens with a laugh track over a scene of bulldozers burying bodies at Auschwitz, the words of Rick Cooper ("When the people can no longer tolerate the Jews, those people who don't believe in the Holocaust will want one; and those who do believe in the Holocaust will want another one. . . . The next Holocaust won't be a hoax"), all emanating from the same source, have got to give one pause. However much some Jews, and some blacks, may now wish to part company, from the neo-Nazi viewpoint they are part of the same problem, as are gays and every other minority as well.

The reader would undoubtedly like to know how many people are involved, a point on which the available data are unfortunately not very good. Estimates made by the three monitoring organizations mentioned above range from about 10,000 to about 20,000 members of these groups nationally, with the organizations agreeing on a rule of thumb of about ten passive supporters for every hard-core member—and thus a possible total of up to 200,000—and agreeing as well that the numbers are conservative. The larger number, which by some counts includes an additional 30,000 Christian Identity followers, is also presumed to include the 100,000 or so subscribers to a Washington, D.C.-based newspaper called *The Spotlight*, published by an ideologically similar but stylistically dissimilar far-right organization, the Liberty Lobby, founded in 1957 by Willis Carto, who also founded the revisionist Institute for Historical Review and the contemporary Populist Party, as well as the 44,000 people who voted for the 1988 Populist presidential candidate, David Duke.

As uncertain as the number of adherents is the number of incidents of hate-motivated violence that we read about in our papers every day; everyone agrees they are dramatically increasing, but there are no reliable figures. With the exception of the A.D.L., which issues an annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents (1,432 in 1989, a 12 percent increase over the previous year), most national organizations prefer not to quantify, believing that with the violence and the reporting apparently increasing simultaneously, the situation is not only a social but also a statistical mess; and with a monitoring agency in the Northwest alone reporting a 400 percent overall increase during the same year, this seems a reasonable inference. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act recently signed by President Bush requires the Justice Department to begin keeping national statistics for the first time, but since participation by state and local police agencies is voluntary—and certain acts, such as cross burnings, may in some cases be arbitrarily excluded—it is questionable how comprehensive they will be.

More important than the number either of members or of incidents, however, is the relationship between the two—a matter that has scarcely begun to be discussed. While it appears that most hate crimes are committed by individuals who are not associated with any organized group, the impulses of the member and the nonmember appear to be much the same. If it is an exaggeration to say that every hate criminal is a potential neo-Nazi, certainly they give the leaders reason to hope. At the least, there appears to be a kind of multiplier effect whereby one thing leads to another, and the mere existence of the movement acts as an enabling force for the open expressions of racism that, until recently, have tended to be underground. There is a dynamism at work here that any static accounting, whether of "members" or "incidents," cannot reflect. Tom Metzger is one of the principal sources of that dynamism, as his television program makes clear.

The Tom Metzger Show

"Hi, this is Tom Metzger, your host for *Race and Reason*, the longest-running show of its type on cable access TV, seen in approximately fifty cities across the United States, blazing a trail of real free speech, free speech for white working people for a change. *Race and Reason* is an island of free speech in a sea of managed and controlled news . . ."

The suit is brown, the shirt is blue, the tie is polka-dot, the voice is mellow and the guest tonight is "Baxter the Pagan," a skinhead leader and mainstay of the WAR organization who takes the "Pagan" from the ancient Germanic tribal religion of Odinism, of which he, like many neo-Nazis, is a follower.

"It must have been tough, a white boy in New York," Metzger begins. "How does it work?"

"I grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood," Baxter replies. "The only blacks around were in an orphanage that was very large at one time, but the race riots of the sixties took care of that—a couple of white victories here and there."

Metzger does not question this logic, but continues:

"But you gradually got out into the streets of New York?"

"Yeah. The suburbs become boring. Especially to someone with an adventurous spirit. Someone not held back by the Christian lie."

What did he find in the city? Metzger wants to know.

"Gangs," says Baxter. "Your drug gangs, your race mixers, your white gangs who don't know that they're supremists [*sic*], but they are."

They discuss the Guardian Angels, who have interposed themselves between skinheads and antiracist protesters on occasions such as the gathering known as the "Aryan Woodstock," which Metzger sponsored in Napa, California, in the spring of 1989, not long before this television session took place.

"Is it true [the Angels] don't encourage white boys and white girls to work together in a group?" Metzger asks.

"It seemed that way to me," Baxter agrees. "The white girls, they talk like Puerto Rican girls, they always have black boyfriends, it seemed like in a white couple the woman would receive so much guff from the black guys about how much of a racist she is not to let their black slime between her legs,

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and the white guy would just be too much of a wimp to do anything about it."

What about Italians, Metzger wonders. "Did you ever go around Little Italy?"

"Oh, Mott Street, sure," says Baxter. "The Italians are very racially motivated people."

"Racially motivated"—sometimes either just "racial" or "motivated"—is a phrase that recurs throughout the broadcast, once in relation to Baxter's suburb ("the town I come from is still pretty racially motivated"), once in relation to Howard Beach ("the white people in New York are pretty racially motivated if not totally insane") and once in relation to the Russians, thus:

Metzger: "We get a lot of mail from young people thinking the military is going to make a man of them, but when they find this tremendous leaning over for blacks most of them want to get out as soon as they get in. What kind of defense is this mongrelized army going to give us? I mean, if the Russians really did try to invade the U.S. . . ."

Baxter: "If the Russians really did try to invade the U.S., I'd probably be fighting with them."

Metzger: "That just lost us the V.F.W. vote. But when you see a Russian submarine or ship coming in, they're almost all white. You might see a Mongol . . ."

Baxter: "Or throw in an Armenian . . ."

Metzger: "But you never see a nonwhite on a Russian sub."

Baxter: "Sure, he'd be bilged before the day was up. The Russians are pretty motivated people, from what I understand."

The conversation with Baxter identifies many of Metzger's immediate enemies and highlights some of his long-range themes—"skinheads who claim they're white power but yet they'll screw a beaner chick or a half-breed gook or some epitome like that"; the conservative whites in Napa County who "technically conspired with the Marxists and lesbians and homosexuals from San Francisco" to stop the Napa concert; "cops on the front lines that are the ones giving us the most trouble . . . so aren't we really in a white civil war?"—but there are many others.

With Baxter's wife, "Monique Wolfing," head of a support group known as the Aryan Women's League, whose activities have included a clothing drive for families of fellow racialists in prison, Metzger discusses the ideal relationship between Aryan women and men, which Monique sees as neither inferiority nor superiority but as equality, "because once you have two counterparts working together you can't lose."

"Isn't there a move in this country that with the white male under attack they've given a special classification to white women and minorities to further split the white male and female up?" Metzger offers, and Monique agrees.

Another of her interests is ecology, which is likewise one of Metzger's frequent refrains. "I've noticed," he prods, "that there's an increased number of young people in the white racialist movement who are also quite interested in the ecology, protecting the animals from cruelty and things like that, and it seems to me that as we are becoming more aware of our precarious state, the white man, the white woman's, state in the world, being only about 10 percent of the population, we begin to sympathize, empathize more, with the wolves and other animals."

"Well, naturally," replies Monique. "They're in the same position we are. Why would we want something created for ourselves and yet watch nature be destroyed? We work hand in hand with nature and we should save nature along with trying to save our race."

With *WAR* newspaper movie critic Mike Kingsley on another program, Metzger discusses Jewish domination of Hollywood, and particularly films like *Mississippi Burning*, which they agree is inaccurate on matters such as the representation of murdered civil rights workers Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman as white people when they were Jews. "I mean, how many white people would want to go down [South] in the 1960s . . . and help blacks integrate the schools when the entire state says, 'No way'?" Kingsley asks.

With *WAR* newspaper managing editor Wyatt Kaldenberg, one of a number of former leftists Metzger has recently recruited to his cause; Bob Heick, head of the San Francisco Nazi Skinhead American Front; and his son John, who on this show runs back and forth between the set and the control room, Tom relives their 1988 appearance on *The Geraldo Show* which ended in Geraldo Rivera's broken nose, observing that the network had paid for the skinheads to fly to New York City not once but twice for the program. "Sells a lot of soap for those people, eh?" Metzger chortles.

Who watches *Race and Reason* it is difficult to say. Public-access TV is neither a heavily viewed nor an effectively monitored segment of the television market, and the figure of fifty outlets that Metzger frequently uses on his broadcasts is his alone. Like many public-access programs, the show is amateurish, at times to the point of parody, and a viewer clicking through the channels would be unlikely to stop there without a reason. But if *Race and Reason* has not directly catapulted Metzger into the American living room, it has done so indirectly, for Metzger was the first to notice that by judicious use of the rules governing public access he could create, in effect, a cable network that would generate at least the appearance of a national audience, and it is an appearance that has in turn generated its own reality. Thanks in large part to the controversies surrounding the introduction of *Race and Reason* into various cities, if not to the program itself, Metzger has appeared on such major television talk shows as *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, *Geraldo* and *Crossfire*, some of them more than once, often in the role of champion of free speech. Even when the controversial program is not his own, Metzger is apt to be called upon to defend the First Amendment. When the Kansas City, Missouri, City Council responded to the proposed airing in 1988 of a Klan-produced program called *Klansas City Cable* by eliminating the access channel, for instance, Metzger appeared on *Oprah* along with Klan member Dennis Mahon and A.C.L.U. attorney John Powell arguing that the program was constitutionally protected. The precise role of these appearances in increasing Metzger's following cannot be proved, but it has been noticed by the police in Portland, for example, that when Metzger

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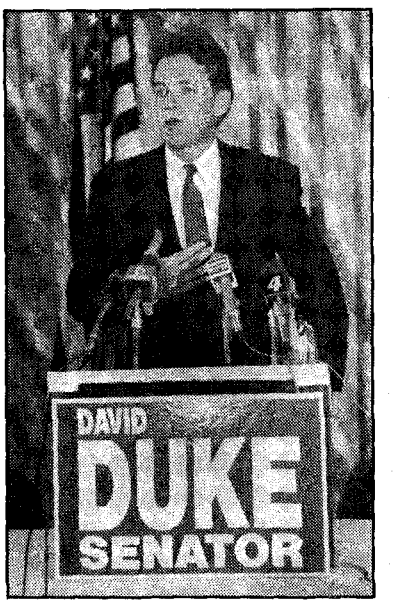
THEY DON'T ALL WEAR SHEETS

The Ku Klux Klan still clings to old-fashioned sheets and pointy hats. But in the 1990s, organized bigots come in many guises. Some wear camouflage uniforms. Some wear baseball caps and cowboy boots.

Racist skinheads sport flight jackets and designer jeans. Others, dressed in business suits, use political camouflage to hide their white supremacist agenda. No matter what mask the bigots wear, the Center for Democratic Renewal — formerly the National Anti-Klan Network — is gathering information from the front lines, providing training, information and help to stop their destructive efforts, nationwide. Now you can benefit from the CDR's expertise and receive our newsletter, *The Monitor*, six times a year. We will keep you informed about a wide range of far right activities and bring you the stories long before they make the six o'clock news.



For example, in our next issue we'll:

- Break the story about renewed efforts by white supremacist groups to launch a major organizing drive in the South.
- Expose the strategy — and name some important financial backers — behind David Duke's campaign for U.S. Senate in Louisiana.
- Tell you how the CDR is helping concerned citizens get rid of the Klansmen running the fire department in Blakely, Georgia.

And it's not all bad news. *The Monitor* will also bring you up-to-date reports on successful community efforts against bigotry. Each issue is a valuable source of reliable information and in-depth analysis.

Whether masked by sheets or suits, the real agenda of hate groups is exposed.

"The CDR's efforts to end Klan and neo-Nazi violence deserve the support of all people of goodwill."

Coretta Scott King

☐ My $15 contribution is enclosed for a one-year subscription to *The Monitor*. ☐ I don't want to subscribe but please keep me informed; send your free literature list. ☐ Enclosed is my additional contribution to support the work of the CDR to end bigoted violence and hate group activity. Please send me more information about your work:

___$10 ___$25 ___$50 ___$100 _____Other

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We need your help; please make a donation today.

Clip & mail to: Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302-0469

433

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visits the city in connection with court appearances for a lawsuit (about which more later), he is recognized when he walks down the street.

'Well, I'm a Racist'

The personableness that Metzger projects, at least on his own program, appears to be a genuine aspect of his character. Raised in small-town Indiana, he carries with him the aura of a local hardware store owner with whom it would be pleasant to spend a Saturday morning chatting about tools, and he is, in fact, one of the few leaders of the neo-Nazi movement who is also a member of the work force. If you call (619) 723-8996 you get the WAR message line, "Aryan Update," essentially the Thoughts of Chairman Tom, but if you call (619) 728-6224, the same voice asks you to state your business and provide whatever information is required for him to drop by your house and offer a free estimate for repair of your stereo, antenna, satellite dish, television or VCR. A married man with six children, he lives in a modest house in the Latino section of Fallbrook, north of San Diego, where his neighbors, who know his beliefs, are among his customers, and his two youngest children attend public school. It is true that the material in the *WAR* newspaper is vicious, that on national television Metzger has more than once spontaneously revealed an ugly temper and that his message lines are filled with such hate juvenilia as the "Anti-Defecation League," the "Jewnited States," "niglets" and "gooks" delivered in what I have come to think of as a Halloween, the-goblins-will-get-you-if-you-don't-watch-out kind of voice; but it is also true that his unsentimental, bad-boy matter-of-factness can be disarming, that he has a youthful enthusiasm that can be engaging and that a recent hour-and-a-half phone conversation revealed so little of the racist and anti-Semitic fervor on which he is staking his claim that it was almost like talking to a different person. Whether it was his sense of history, his sense of humor or his sense of himself (he was shrewd enough to ponder aloud his contrary nature and wonder, "What would I do if I became popular?") I am not sure, but by the time he excused himself to take out the garbage—he heard the trucks rumbling in the background—if anybody had asked me, "Would you want your television repaired by this man?" I might well have said, "Why not?"

The same credibility that has undoubtedly made it possible for Metzger to stay in the repair business despite his views also characterizes his political evolution, which appears to have an inner coherence that closely reflects his experience. "Once I was a conservative, once I was a liberal, once I was a libertarian. I got sick of those labels, so even though I'm not too happy with labels, I finally said, 'Well, I'm a racist,' " he told a journalism class at San Diego State University in 1980. Except for the omission of the anti-Semitism that has carried over from an early Christian Identity ministry to his present atheism, the progression given in his own summary is probably correct.

Once he was a Bircher: "In the early sixties I was very depressed by the inroads of Communism. A lot of things they said made sense, so I became a Birch Society member. I believe in activism. The Birch Society took the position it was stupid to be active, you're just supposed to read books. I don't know. Maybe if you throw enough books at someone you might hit 'em, and they'll quit what they're doing." Then he became a George Wallace supporter: "When I worked for the Wallace campaign, I did not perceive myself as a racist, even though they said anybody who worked for Wallace was. I was a rebel, I've always been a rebel, and the fact of being a rebel has pushed me in the direction I've gone because when people called me a racist and I wasn't, finally I just stuck my chin out and said, well, if you want it that way, I will be, you know? And I'll be the loudest one you ever saw." Eventually he turned to the Klan, closely associating himself with the "New Klan" that emerged in the mid-1970s around David Duke. In addition to many joint activities with Duke in California, including a Klan patrol of the Mexican border to prevent illegal immigration, he helped manage Duke's first electoral campaign, for the Louisiana Senate, in 1975. But the decisive moment in his career so far appears to have been his own "electoral period," which included three runs for office between 1978 and 1982.

Although electoral activity was part of an informal consensus among like-minded rightists nationwide, there is little doubt that Metzger believed in what he was doing. "You don't make change having fiery crosses out in cow pastures," he told the journalism class in 1980. "You make change by invading the halls of Congress and the Statehouse." In 1978 he won 11,000 votes in a nonpartisan election for San Diego County supervisor; in 1980 he won the Democratic primary in the 43d Congressional District in California with 33,000 votes against a party regular hastily recruited at the last minute to retrieve the party's honor in a foregone race against the Re-

A Message From Tom Metzger

Hello, this is Tom Metzger, La Cesspool Grande, and this is White Aryan Resistance. All you worthless bastards in the House and Senate, what are you up to now? What's your beloved Pentagon pork barrel going to do for you now that the phony cold war is being flushed down the toilet? What other ways are you planning to destroy white working people in the U.S.? You jerks cry out about quality of life, natural resources, and animal habitat being destroyed, but did you ever stop to think that if you quit allowing every squalid lottery player to enter the country we might have all these great things? Stop bringing in all these Asians and make room for national parks. Boxcar a few million Mexicans and Central Americans south of the border and watch the streets get cleaner overnight. On another issue, you mutton-headed bureaucrats, why do you allow the Jew Mossad secret police full freedom to spy on Americans from the seventh floor of the Jew Anti-Defecation League right there in front of you? You don't let any other country do it. You chicken-shits worship the Jews so much you must have holes in the knees of all your pants. How about your great OSI picking up a real war criminal for a change, a Jew war criminal by the name of . . . who lives at. . . . Allegedly this piece of pork brags about exterminating German men, women, and children during World War II. He encourages Israeli military men to be even more brutal to the Palestinians. This is WAR.

A message on WAR's Washington, D.C., hot line.

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publican incumbent, Representative Clair Burgener, who beat Metzger by more than 250,000 votes in the general election; and in 1982 he won more than 75,000 votes in the statewide Democratic primary for nomination to the U.S. Senate. It was probably the 1980 primary that affected him most, for he won it in spite of several years of open, highly publicized and frequently violent activities as head of the California Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and he was technically entitled to a role in the California Democratic Party, which the party decided to deny him. One moment he could boast, "I found before the primary that my parents, who were visiting from Indiana, were upset by my Klan activities and they went home in a huff; but after I won it was a whole different thing; people worship power." The next moment he was enduring a personal as well as a political rejection as he was taken from a Sacramento meeting room by a sheriff following the unanimous vote of the state Democratic Central Committee to unseat him.

'This Is WAR'

The 1980 political humiliation was not Metzger's only run-in with what he often calls "the system." In 1971, following a period of business losses, he received a phone call from the I.R.S. Already angry over the Vietnam War, in which he had lost several friends—so angry, in fact, that he once collaborated with leftists in staging a mock war crimes trial—he decided to resist paying his taxes. When he recounted to me the moment—"I remember I was standing in my kitchen, and I said, 'No, I don't think I'll have you audit me this year,' and there was silence on the other end of the phone, and finally [the agent] said, 'Do you realize who this is?' and I said, 'I understand completely who this is, I'm throwing down the gauntlet and this war is going to begin' "—it had something of the feeling of a conversion. From 1971 to 1975 he was a tax protester; later, to avoid losing his home, he began paying on contract. A few years ago the I.R.S. canceled the contract and demanded immediate payment of the remaining sum, and when he came to the part of the story where he had to raise $7,000 immediately to save his house, the respect in his voice for the amount struck me—for someone who is often rumored to have received more than $1 million in stolen money from The Order—as very real.

In any case, it does not seem accidental that the words and ideas with which Metzger responded instinctively to the I.R.S. in 1971 play so big a part in his political vocabulary now. "I have a real hatred for the government, which excels any kind of displeasure I have with any racial groups. But I have to give them all the credit, because due to their actions against me they have created me," he says. When he ends his phone messages with his goblinish imprecation, "This is WAR," he is not dealing in ideological abstractions. It is "resistance to" and "war on" the government that he means.

Just what WAR *is*, however, is a reasonable question, for Metzger is also one of the world's great hustlers. Unlike the Klan, which requires induction, WAR is not a membership organization—"WAR wears no uniform, carries no card, and takes no secret oaths; [it] doesn't require you to dress up and march around on a muddy street; [it] works the modern way, with thousands of friends doing their part on the job, behind the scenes, serving their race," he proclaimed in inaugurating his Detroit phone line last winter. And with that definition, whether WAR should be called an organization at all is open to question. The television program and the newspaper both come out of the group centered around Fallbrook, and as for the message lines, though they are appearing in more and more cities—Washington, New York, Dallas and Cleveland, to name a few—how that fact should be understood is perhaps suggested by a recent plea on the Fallbrook line for donation of another answering machine for Seattle. This is not an outfit with many resources at hand. A message line itself proves no more than the presence of a single follower willing to house the phone, and the same applies to *Race and Reason*, which, according to cable regulations in most cities, requires only a single local sponsor to be shown. If such an assessment can be comforting, however, it also can be misleading, for it appears that Metzger's appeals are hitting their targets. There are thought to be at least a thousand more skinheads now than a year ago; correspondence with Metzger has shown up in skinhead quarters as far from Fallbrook as Providence, Rhode Island; and in numerous ways, subtle and not, some of which will be discussed later, it is obvious that his influence is growing.

Further, while the presence or absence of troops is of considerable interest to Metzger-watchers, it is not Metzger's own chief concern. A "Leninist" (his word) he sees himself as working with a "minority of dedicated people" to create a "fanatical inner structure" until the historical moment is ripe for it to be heard. He is less interested in numbers than in the ideas through which the band of fanatics understands the world. He speaks as one under intense ideological pressure, and although his royal "*we* think" and "*we're* trying" may in one sense be part of his hustle, it also seems to reflect a need to distinguish himself from the rest of the racial movement. He is against the Klan, whose members he calls "Hollywood soldiers," against ordinary conservatives, who he believes have lost important decades "screaming 'Communism, Communism' while racially we went down the tubes," and he is against ordinary neo-Nazis as well. His opposition to other neo-Nazis is particularly important, for in spite of the "Aryan" in WAR, it is in his rejection of Hitler worship, which he believes has limited every American racialist since George Lincoln Rockwell, that he has taken his stand. A follower, instead, of the Nazi radical Gregor Strasser, who was executed in the Röhm purge in 1934, Metzger has taken from Strasser a combination of socialist and internationalist ideas sometimes known as the "Third Position" and, while keeping them firmly in a racialist framework, has given them a populist cast. Where other racial leaders are apt to refer to the white race in general, Metzger usually refers to the white working man, or working person (he tries to mind his feminism), and the American heroes about whom he has tried to educate his followers include Eugene Debs as well as Father Coughlin, Francis Townsend and Huey Long. Even more important than any economic ideas, which are rarely articulated, however, is Metzger's sense of belonging to an international pan-Aryan movement, which is probably the closest thing he has to a political vision. "Most of us see ourselves as simply the beginning

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of something," he told me in our phone conversation, describing the American movement as part of an emerging global struggle of whites against blacks—an "Alamo of the white race" is how he put it—"buying time" against the incursions of the Third World "for the Mother Continent of Europe and Russia to come to its senses." He interprets the revival of anti-Semitism in Europe as a sign that the process has started.

In the end, however, what is necessary to ponder about Tom Metzger is neither his ideas nor his organization but the question of how far he might get. Simply as a matter of personality, he has an obvious staying power, and as a personality in relation to a movement that is stirring both here and abroad, the moment to him seems full of possibilities. "Everything's going fine. The news is wonderful. Our brethren in Pamyat and in Eastern Europe and in Russia and the Iron Guard are back. The French are jumping up and down. The British are excited. Everything's moving in our direction," he concluded in a taped message in May. Metzger is not an opportunist but he is flexible, and since he has already changed so much, there is no reason to think he will stop. If an old idea is no longer serviceable, he will get rid of it, and if a new idea is better, he will drag it in. If the skinhead vanguard at which he is presently aiming fails him, he will find another. If WAR collapses or is shut down, a "WAR II" will probably materialize. Today his program is "Race, Ecology, Economics," in that order, but tomorrow it could be something else. What is clearest about Tom Metzger is that as long as he is alive and talking, he is likely to have a forum. He will not be easy to stop.

New Pledge of Allegiance

I pledge allegiance to the flag of ZOG, the Zionist Occupation Government of the Israelie State, and to the peace loving marxist democracy for which it stands, the number one state under the Anti-Christ, international, with liberty and justice for all *except for White Christians.*

The Pledge is voluntary, but anyone who refuses will be sent to Israelie Sanhedrins for trial for the crime of Genocide.

Ralph Forbes's sense of humor. Forbes was David Duke's presidential campaign manager.

II.

The prominence of Tom Metzger in the racial movement today is not the result of his talents alone: He has also outlasted many of his competitors. Starting around the death of Gordon Kahl in 1983, and accelerating after the capture and trial of members of The Order in 1984 and 1985, the period of passive accommodation that had characterized relations between the federal government and the Klan throughout the 1970s drew to a close. It was followed by a period of greater governmental aggressiveness, which rested primarily on the realization that, unlike the Klan, the new movement was directed in part against the government itself and was hence more dangerous—a fact that its repeated declarations of war on the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG), its term for federal authority, as well as the deaths of several law officers, made hard to miss. The awakening of the Reagan Administration to these developments has not yet been adequately documented, but it appears roughly to have followed the trajectory of the movement itself from underground to above ground, only a little behind. By about the mid-1980s there was a definitive new policy: Patriotic bigotry is one thing, sedition is something else.

Since the successful prosecution of The Order on racketeering charges—Order crimes included bombing, murder, armed robbery and counterfeiting, mainly in the West—there have been a number of other important prosecutions of movement figures. Two Order members already in prison were further convicted of civil rights violations for the murder of Denver radio personality Alan Berg (two others were acquitted); North Carolina neo-Nazi Klan leader Glenn Miller was convicted of illegal paramilitary activity in violation of a court order; and just this spring a group of Texas skinheads was convicted in Dallas of violating the civil rights of minorities by vandalizing Jewish properties and chasing blacks and Latinos out of a public park—the first such federal antiskinhead effort. According to sources including Barry Kowalski, deputy chief of the Justice Department's civil rights division, criminal section, and the successful prosecutor of both the Order and skinhead cases, investigations leading to other cases that the department hopes will restrain the skinhead movement are now under way. There has also been an increase in the federal intelligence effort—practically nonexistent in the period of The Order—resulting in the interception in May of three members of Idaho's Aryan Nations group just before a planned bombing of a busy gay bar in Seattle.

Of all the cases brought so far, undoubtedly the most important was the 1988 federal sedition trial of fourteen neo-Nazis in Fort Smith, Arkansas, which, though an embarrassing loss (all of the defendants were acquitted; one of them married a juror when it was over), contributed to a destabilizing of the leadership and a derailing of the movement, at least for a time. One of the defendants, Aryan Nations pastor Richard Butler, who is in his 70s, had bypass surgery shortly after his indictment in 1987 and has not been as active since the trial, although his connection with the would-be bombers mentioned above suggests that he retains his influence. Robert Miles, another older defendant, a Christian Identity minister and former Michigan Klan leader whose farm has long been the site of important gatherings of racists from around the country, has not been as active either. Miles has been preoccupied since the trial with the illness of his wife, said to have been brought on by the strain of his prosecution, and has announced that he will cease publishing his newsletter, "From the Mountain," this summer. Louis Beam, 43 years old, is another important defendant now less in evidence. A former Texas Klan leader, who designed a computer bulletin board known as the Aryan Nations Liberty Net, which functioned with considerable fanfare though uncertain utility in the early 1980s, Beam is likely to re-emerge, and with something more dramatic than the movement faxes and voice-activated mail system on which he is said to be working at the moment. The Fort Smith trial also brought to public attention the end of the careers of two other longtime neo-Nazi leaders, who testified for the government: North Carolina Klan leader Glenn

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*To protect the First Amendment. CCR is the organization which defended protesters charged with flag-burning. This case culminated in a Supreme Court decision on June 11, 1990 overturning the federal flag-burning statute.

* To make the U.S. government live up to international law standards. CCR filed a complaint before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights asserting that the U. S. violated the Charter of the Organization of American States and the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man when it invaded Panama in December 1989.

* To continue to secure reproductive rights for all women. CCR, with NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, pursued Operation Rescue all the way to the Supreme Court and won rulings preventing so-called "Right to Lifers" from blockading reproductive health clinics and harassing women trying to obtain services from them.

Founded in 1966, the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) provides aggressive, creative legal support for individuals and groups involved in a wide spectrum of social issues, including racial justice, women's rights, reproductive rights, lesbian/gay rights, Native American land rights, and many others.

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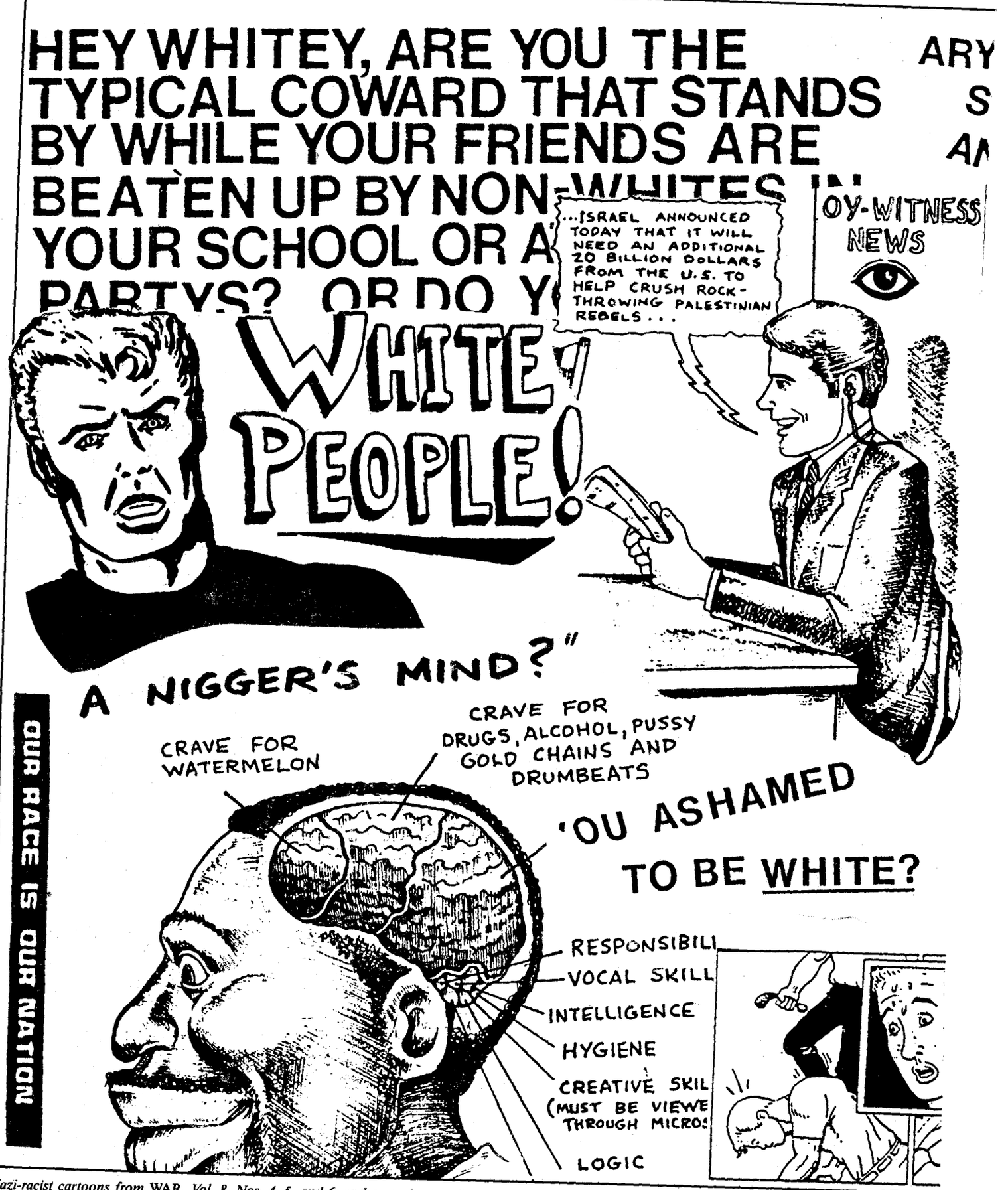
HEY WHITEY, ARE YOU THE TYPICAL COWARD THAT STANDS BY WHILE YOUR FRIENDS ARE BEATEN UP BY NON-
YOUR SCHOOL OR A
PARTYS? OR DO Y
WHITE PEOPLE!
...ISRAEL ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT IT WILL NEED AN ADDITIONAL 20 BILLION DOLLARS FROM THE U.S. TO HELP CRUSH ROCK-THROWING PALESTINIAN REBELS...
OY-WITNESS NEWS
A NIGGER'S MIND?"
CRAVE FOR WATERMELON
CRAVE FOR DRUGS, ALCOHOL, PUSSY GOLD CHAINS AND DRUMBEATS
'OU ASHAMED TO BE WHITE?
OUR RACE IS OUR NATION
RESPONSIBILI
VOCAL SKILL
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Nazi-racist cartoons from WAR, *Vol. 8, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, and a comic strip from an Aryan Youth Movement White Student Union flier.*

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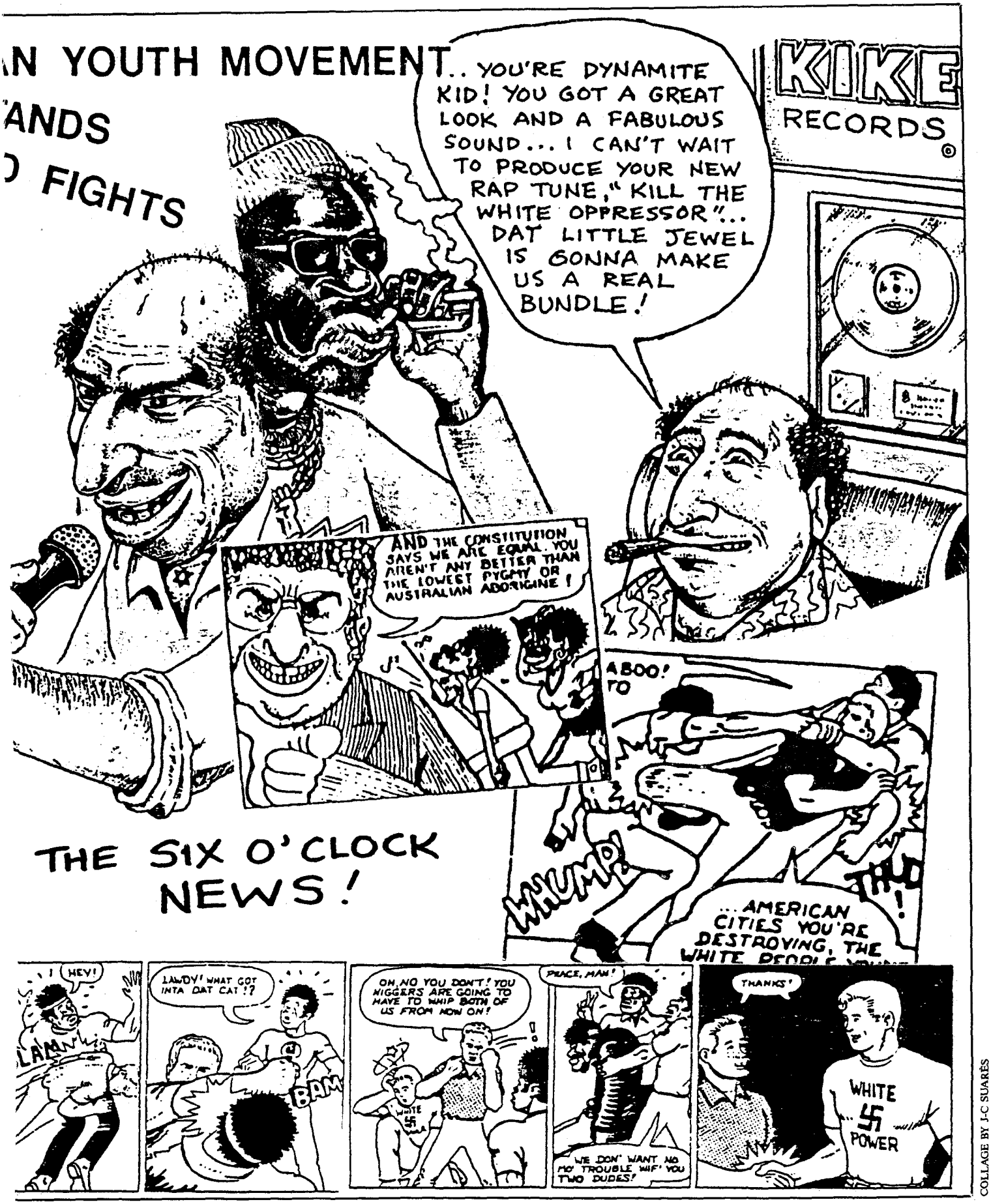
N YOUTH MOVEMENT
ANDS
FIGHTS
..YOU'RE DYNAMITE KID! YOU GOT A GREAT LOOK AND A FABULOUS SOUND... I CAN'T WAIT TO PRODUCE YOUR NEW RAP TUNE," KILL THE WHITE OPPRESSOR"... DAT LITTLE JEWEL IS GONNA MAKE US A REAL BUNDLE!
KIKE RECORDS ©
AND THE CONSTITUTION SAYS WE ARE EQUAL. YOU AREN'T ANY BETTER THAN THE LOWEST PYGMY OR AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINE!
ABOO! TO
WHUMP!
...AMERICAN CITIES YOU'RE DESTROYING, THE
THE SIX O'CLOCK NEWS!
HEY!
LAWDY! WHAT GOT INTA DAT CAT!?
BAM
OH, NO YOU DON'T! YOU NIGGERS ARE GOING TO HAVE TO WHIP BOTH OF US FROM NOW ON!
PEACE, MAN!
WE DON' WANT NO MO' TROUBLE WIF' YOU TWO DUDES!
THANKS!
WHITE 卐 POWER

COLLAGE BY J-C SUARÈS

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Miller, who bargained his way into the federal Witness Protection Program in return for his cooperation, and Christian Identity preacher Jim Ellison—founder of an Arkansas compound known as the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord—who, like Miller, was formerly involved in paramilitary activities and has now joined him in the Witness Protection Program. Although other leaders, such as Colorado Identity minister Pete Peters, who sponsored a film in support of the Fort Smith defendants that continues to circulate within the movement, and Arkansas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan chaplain Thom Robb, who organized other supporting activities, continue to flourish, none has exhibited the capacity to go beyond his immediate following to create a national constituency. Besides Tom Metzger, the most important neo-Nazi leader who has not been caught in a government net is Louisiana State Representative David Duke, whose relationship to the rest of the racial movement can best be described as a "front." So different in style from most of the people discussed here that the relationship is not at once apparent, Duke is, nonetheless, one of them: His roots go back to the same organizations as well as to the same ideas, and it is as an emissary from the racism of the streets to the racism of polite society that he has to be understood.

The Chameleon

If Tom Metzger has positioned himself as far outside the system as it is possible to be without going to jail, the opposite is true of David Duke, who not only wants in but wants all the way in, preferably as far as the White House. Duke is a self-assured, conventionally handsome 40-year-old Oklahoma-born Southerner who has been evading questions on national television since he emerged as leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the mid-1970s—often, as a matter of fact, the same questions. If the typical appearance by Metzger on *Race and Reason* features the bogus exploration by host and guest of some of the higher intricacies of their common ground, the typical Duke television appearance is a perfunctory stand-off in which the host is more interested in conveying his righteousness than in the answers, and the guest is more interested in conveying his mailing address than in the questions.

Something of the mindlessness of these stalemates is suggested by a Duke appearance last fall on *ABC News Primetime Live* with Sam Donaldson, in which to every question provided Donaldson by his researchers the answer was invariably a polite denial.

Donaldson: "You believe in the Nazi creed, in the Nazi views?"

Duke: "Sir, I certainly don't. . . ."

Donaldson: "If . . . you don't believe in [them], why do you tell people now that you admire Joseph Mengele?"

Duke: "I don't say that I admire him at all."

. . .

Donaldson: "You think that blacks are genetically inferior to whites?"

Duke: "No sir. . . ."

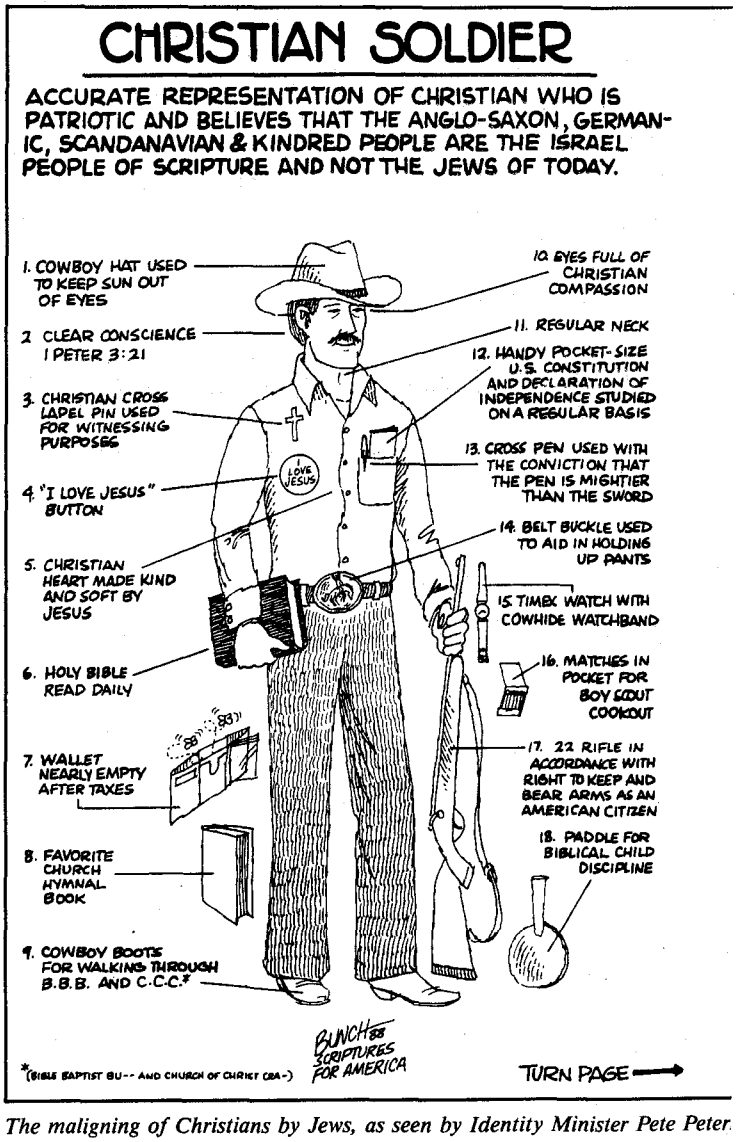
Donaldson: "You don't? Well, then, why did you write in your National Association for the Advancement of White People newsletter in 1986, and I quote, 'Negroes are lower on the evolutionary scale than Caucasians'?"

Duke: "I don't think I said that, sir."

Donaldson: "You wrote it. You didn't say it, I suppose."

And so on.

"You said," Donaldson continued, " 'Jewish people have put the interest of race over the interest of the American people,' " citing remarks Duke made at a Klan rally near Clearwater, Florida.


CHRISTIAN SOLDIER
ACCURATE REPRESENTATION OF CHRISTIAN WHO IS PATRIOTIC AND BELIEVES THAT THE ANGLO-SAXON, GERMANIC, SCANDANAVIAN & KINDRED PEOPLE ARE THE ISRAEL PEOPLE OF SCRIPTURE AND NOT THE JEWS OF TODAY.
1. COWBOY HAT USED TO KEEP SUN OUT OF EYES
2. CLEAR CONSCIENCE I PETER 3:21
3. CHRISTIAN CROSS LAPEL PIN USED FOR WITNESSING PURPOSES
4. "I LOVE JESUS" BUTTON
5. CHRISTIAN HEART MADE KIND AND SOFT BY JESUS
6. HOLY BIBLE READ DAILY
7. WALLET NEARLY EMPTY AFTER TAXES
8. FAVORITE CHURCH HYMNAL BOOK
9. COWBOY BOOTS FOR WALKING THROUGH B.B.B. AND C.C.C.*
10. EYES FULL OF CHRISTIAN COMPASSION
11. REGULAR NECK
12. HANDY POCKET-SIZE U.S. CONSTITUTION AND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE STUDIED ON A REGULAR BASIS
13. CROSS PEN USED WITH THE CONVICTION THAT THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD
14. BELT BUCKLE USED TO AID IN HOLDING UP PANTS
15. TIMEX WATCH WITH COWHIDE WATCHBAND
16. MATCHES IN POCKET FOR BOY SCOUT COOKOUT
17. 22 RIFLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN
18. PADDLE FOR BIBLICAL CHILD DISCIPLINE
LOVE JESUS
*(BIBLE BAPTIST BU-- AND CHURCH OF CHRIST CBA-)
BUNCH OF SCRIPTURES FOR AMERICA
TURN PAGE

The maligning of Christians by Jews, as seen by Identity Minister Pete Peter

"I've been quoted tens of thousands of times by tens of thousands of publications——"

"Did you say it? Do you deny it?"

"Not in the way—I do think——"

"Did you say it?"

"Would you let me finish?"

"Did you say it?"

"Sir, I don't think I said that. . . ."

Duke eventually admitted to a different statement and changed the subject, though probably not before winning viewer support for his better manners.

How Donaldson could sleep that night when he had utterly

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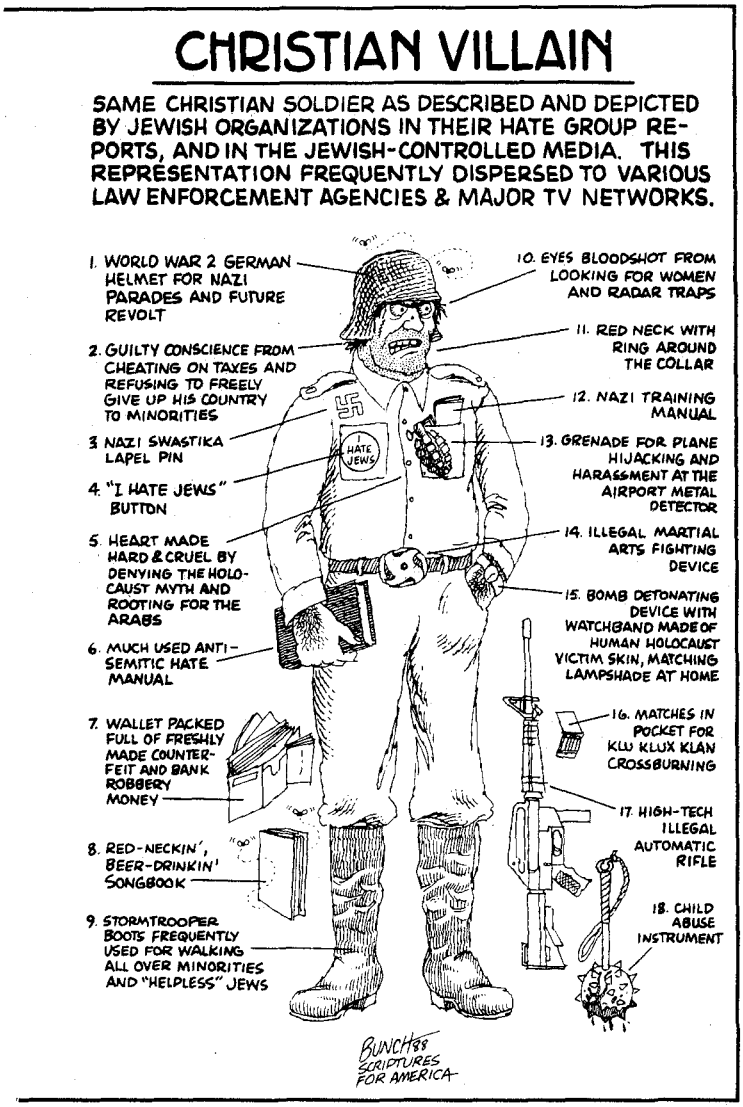
failed to establish that his guest was not an ordinary racist politician leading a backlash in a period of black progress but a racial thinker whose deepest ideological roots go back to the Nazi era is little short of a wonder of nature, but then how Oprah, Donahue or Geraldo can sleep when they have consistently provided the neo-Nazis with propaganda opportunities possibly unrivaled since *Triumph of the Will* is a wonder too. For in the words of Jason Berry, a New Orleans investigative journalist who is one of the few to get to the heart


CHRISTIAN VILLAIN
SAME CHRISTIAN SOLDIER AS DESCRIBED AND DEPICTED BY JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN THEIR HATE GROUP REPORTS, AND IN THE JEWISH-CONTROLLED MEDIA. THIS REPRESENTATION FREQUENTLY DISPERSED TO VARIOUS LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES & MAJOR TV NETWORKS.
1. WORLD WAR 2 GERMAN HELMET FOR NAZI PARADES AND FUTURE REVOLT
2. GUILTY CONSCIENCE FROM CHEATING ON TAXES AND REFUSING TO FREELY GIVE UP HIS COUNTRY TO MINORITIES
3. NAZI SWASTIKA LAPEL PIN
4. "I HATE JEWS" BUTTON
5. HEART MADE HARD & CRUEL BY DENYING THE HOLOCAUST MYTH AND ROOTING FOR THE ARABS
6. MUCH USED ANTI-SEMITIC HATE MANUAL
7. WALLET PACKED FULL OF FRESHLY MADE COUNTERFEIT AND BANK ROBBERY MONEY
8. RED-NECKIN', BEER-DRINKIN' SONGBOOK
9. STORMTROOPER BOOTS FREQUENTLY USED FOR WALKING ALL OVER MINORITIES AND "HELPLESS" JEWS
10. EYES BLOODSHOT FROM LOOKING FOR WOMEN AND RADAR TRAPS
11. RED NECK WITH RING AROUND THE COLLAR
12. NAZI TRAINING MANUAL
13. GRENADE FOR PLANE HIJACKING AND HARASSMENT AT THE AIRPORT METAL DETECTOR
14. ILLEGAL MARTIAL ARTS FIGHTING DEVICE
15. BOMB DETONATING DEVICE WITH WATCHBAND MADE OF HUMAN HOLOCAUST VICTIM SKIN, MATCHING LAMPSHADE AT HOME
16. MATCHES IN POCKET FOR KLU KLUX KLAN CROSSBURNING
17. HIGH-TECH ILLEGAL AUTOMATIC RIFLE
18. CHILD ABUSE INSTRUMENT
I HATE JEWS
BUNCH'88
SCRIPTURES FOR AMERICA

of Laporte, Colorado. From a pamphlet titled "The Real Hate Group."

of the matter of David Duke, "Duke is building a political base, grounded in Nazi master-race theory, under the noses of acquiescent Louisiana Republicans"—and few people understand what is happening.

The difference between the apparent Duke who regularly triumphs over superficial television hosts and the real Duke is less a matter of particular statements than of his system of thought. He has been so beguiling to so many interviewers over the years that the two words most frequently used to describe him have probably been "Robert Redford," but a more telling comparison would be Dorian Gray, for he has one of those ageless faces upon which neither time nor experience seems to register; and, at least on film, he looks almost the same now as he did in his 20s. His ideas, too, are changeless, expressed in set phrases and sentences labeled by various reporters as "tapes," "mantras" and "songs." A perfect exemplar of what Richard Hofstadter, in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, calls a demi-intellectual, he has been a passionate student of "racial science" since a precocious encounter with Carleton Putnam's *Race and Reason* at age 13. For many years he operated a Klan bookstore in the New Orleans suburb of Metairie that offered such staples of the racial movement as *Hitler's Last Testament* and innumerable works on race and culture, like Francis Parker Yockey's *Imperium*, which have the status of classics within the movement but are little known outside it. He sold the books through a mail-order catalogue, and, up to about a year ago, through his legislative office as well.

His ideas appear to have come right from his bookshelves. "I came to believe that race was the most important thing to civilization in building a society and a nation. In fact, I came to believe the most important thing in the world was people—the quality of people. I came to feel our race was being overcome by the nonwhite world," he told writer Patsy Sims, who interviewed him for her book, *The Klan*, in 1976. He says the identical thing today. The implications he draws from this conviction were perhaps best spelled out in a lament called "America at the Crossroads," which he published in his National Association for the Advancement of White People newsletter in 1983. "Immigration," he wrote,

> along with nonwhite birthrates will make white people a minority totally vulnerable to the political, social, and economic will of blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Orientals. A social upheaval is now beginning to occur that will be the funeral dirge of the America we love. I shudder to contemplate the future under nonwhite occupation; rapes, murders, robberies multiplied a hundred fold, illiteracy such as in Haiti, medicine such as in Mexico, and tyranny such as in Togoland. Am I an alarmist? Is my vision unreal? All one has to do is look around this globe and see the Third World reality. Are whites holding every one of the nonwhite countries down, or are we in fact pumping billions of dollars into them along with every technological aid that the West can produce? And now the West itself is gradually being enveloped by nonwhite immigration. The exploding numbers of nonwhites are slowly wrapping formerly white nations in a dark human cocoon. Shall a butterfly emerge, or the beast that has haunted the ruins of every great white civilization that submitted to invasion by immigration and racial miscegenation?

Are blacks less intelligent than whites in terms of I.Q.? "Sure," Duke told *Hustler* magazine in 1982. "The average white and black have markedly different IQ's; maybe 15 to 20 points separate the two. I've also heard the argument that blacks are much more intelligent than the lowest whites. But there are gorillas in this country with IQs of 90, higher than many people. That does not make gorillas and people the same." Is integration acceptable? "We're totally opposed to [it]. We think integration has only caused hatred and violence between the races. We think the races should be separated—whether in this country or even outside the country

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is something time will tell." Did the Holocaust take place? "Jews gain certain advantages by promoting the Holocaust idea. It inspires tremendous financial aid for Israel. It makes organized Jewry almost immune from criticism. Whether the Holocaust is real or not, the Jews clearly have a motive for fostering the idea that it occurred." Whatever the subject, his opinions refer back to racist intellectual sources ranging from Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color* and *Racial Realities of Europe*, both published in the 1920s, to *The Talmud Unmasked*, by Father Prainatis, all of which he has sold. And he has even added to the literature himself with a pamphlet called *Who Runs the Media?*—"an excellent booklet," the catalogue description says, "documenting Zionist control of America's mass media, how the control was achieved, and the ramifications of this alien domination," one of his favorite themes.

His program is as consistent as his principles. A subject of constant interest has been "racial betterment." Well over a decade ago, he advocated such eugenic interventions as tax incentives for people with high I.Q.s to have more children, and he still advocates such programs. His equally longstanding criticism of welfare—that it encourages those with the lowest I.Q.s to have the most children—is also more eugenic than economic. "It's against evolution," he says. "You must understand," he has warned, "that the white people are becoming a second-class citizens' group in our own country. . . . We're losing our rights all the way across the board. White people face massive discrimination in employment opportunities, in scholarship opportunities, in promotions in industry, in college entrance examinations." On the surface, such a statement could be the platform of an illiberal but still legitimate white politician willing to trade this or swap that for a curb on the minority assistance programs that have been offered as a result of the civil rights movement, but in Duke's case its racialist roots give it a hidden meaning.

The emotional forces behind Duke's ideological fixations are beyond journalistic reach, but it is hard to resist the speculation that the need to outdo a conservative father, who spent over a decade away from home while Duke was growing up, may have played a part. The family moved a lot when he was a boy before settling in New Orleans in the early 1960s, possibly also creating a need for internal order to counter the external chaos; there is not enough biographical evidence to say. His political constancy appears to coexist with an often remarked inconstancy, not least of the heart. One has to wonder what his black nanny, Pinkie, who used to eat at the table with his family, would say if she could see him now. His womanizing was well known in and out of the racial movement long before his divorce in the early 1980s; he has a history of troubled relations with colleagues; and in other personal matters, too, he appears to have difficulty maintaining a fixed course. Widely reported to be highly obsessed with his health—he lifts weights and chews vitamin pills and health foods—he is also concerned about his image, and, according to Metzger at least, has already had a face lift. Besides articles published under his own name, he has published pseudonymously in fields ranging from the martial arts to the environment, including a sex manual that tells women how to please men. Whatever his successes in public encounters and with crowds, in private relations he seems to leave a sense of uneasiness behind.

That slipperiness does not affect his constituents, one of whom, asked recently before television cameras why she idolized Duke, replied simply, "Because he hates niggers," but it bothers some within the racial movement, who often wonder whether they can trust him or not. Metzger, who says, "I don't go out of my way to attack David Duke because he contains the seeds of his own destruction," calls him a chameleon. "Snake oil," says Rick Cooper, the Portland neo-Nazi. "He can wriggle out of any question." His newest colleagues appear to share this view. A fellow Louisiana legislator said recently on national television, "David Duke will look into your eyes and lie and expect you to believe it. He has a warped sense of what reality is," evidently without fear of contradiction. Whether these attributes are liabilities or assets for an ambitious politician can be argued, but with his smooth exterior concealing so many anomalies of character, it is hard to believe there is no portrait of him somewhere, rotting away.

The Candidate's Résumé

Whatever Duke's personality, he has always been on the move. An activist as well as a reader, he seems to have spent the years following his Putnam epiphany searching for the correct organizational form to express his convictions: the Klan in high school; the White Youth Alliance, which he formed when he was at Louisiana State University and which became affiliated with various Rockwell-related splinter groups in college; and after graduation the Klan again, the base from which he made his initial national impact. Duke's leadership, first of the Louisiana Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and then of its national office, was important for several reasons, not least his recruitment of some powerful men, including Metzger in California, Louis Beam in Texas, Bill Wilkinson in Louisiana and Don Black in Alabama, many of whom remain central to the racial movement today. Duke also modernized the organization, welcoming women and Catholics for the first time, dressing in suits rather than robes and calling himself "National Director" instead of "Imperial Wizard." Under his auspices, the Klan conducted a military organizing drive that made itself felt at Camp Pendleton in California, at Fort Hood in Texas and in the Navy, and experienced something of a general revival as well.

In 1980, in part because of a struggle with Wilkinson, who was running the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan's Louisiana branch, Duke left to form the National Association for the Advancement of White People, which he described then, as he does now, as a "civil rights lobby for white people" and which he has used in his march into mainstream politics. That effort began in 1975, when he won about a third of the votes during an unsuccessful statewide run for the Louisiana Senate in the campaign assisted by Metzger. He ran again with similar results in 1979 but clearly did not lose the taste, and in the late 1980s he began a new electoral phase. In 1988 he ran for President in the Democratic primaries in a number of states and, when that effort collapsed, as the presidential candidate of the Populist Party, a campaign backed primarily by

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the party's organizational alter ego, the Liberty Lobby. In February 1989 he was elected to the Louisiana legislature from Metairie as a Republican and, although he lost a bid for the party's official nomination, he is now running in Louisiana's open primary as a maverick Republican for the U.S. Senate seat held by Democrat J. Bennett Johnston.

What is important about Duke's political biography, however, is that although it is usually represented as a succession it is actually more of an accretion. On the course from his adolescent Klan membership to his present Republicanism, Duke has touched all the important bases of the racial movement in the United States and abandoned none. His relationships with former associates such as Metzger and Beam might not be what they once were, but they are not known to be broken either, and Duke's political entourage is full of familiar faces. When he announced his Democratic presidential bid in Atlanta in 1988, there cheering him on was Don Black, the Alabama Klan leader, who is best known for his role in a neo-Nazi/Klan attempt to overthrow the government of the island of Dominica in return for land for paramilitary training camps. Black was technically Duke's successor in the national Knights of the K.K.K. and is married to Duke's former wife. Also at the announcement were Daniel Carver, then the Imperial Wizard of a different Klan organization, the Invisible Empire, and such old-line racists as Ed Fields, founder of the National States Rights Party and editor of its paper, *The Thunderbolt*, with which Duke had some connection as long ago as college.

In addition to Black, whose political life began as a Rockwell follower, Duke is also actively associated with two other men whose Nazi ties go directly back to the time of George Lincoln Rockwell: James Warner, head of an anti-Semitic church, newsletter and book publishing operation known as the New Christian Crusade Church in Metairie, Louisiana, who began as an information officer for the National Socialist White People's Party, the successor to Rockwell's American Nazi Party, and Ralph Forbes, head of a similar operation in Arkansas called the Sword of Christ Good News Ministry, who started out as the so-called commander of the American Nazi Party's western division. Warner, a longtime partner of Duke in the book business, resumed a ruptured relationship with him to assist in his legislative campaign and in January 1990 served as an elected Duke delegate to the Louisiana Republican convention. Forbes, who recently made an unexpectedly strong bid for the G.O.P. nomination for lieutenant governor of Arkansas, is publisher of a newspaper called *The Truth*, whose inaugural edition (January 1989) announced in banner type, "Good News America: There Is a White Christmas in Your Future"; sold Rockwelliana as well as many other items of neo-Nazi memorabilia, such as "Musik of the Afrika Corps"; included several pages of "satire" calling Michael Dukakis "Michael Dukikiz," presenting Willie Horton as I.R.S. commissioner and Rabbi Meir Kahane as chief justice; and featuring a mock pledge of allegiance to ZOG, presumably to illustrate the fate America so narrowly escaped (see page 90). Forbes was the director of Duke's 1988 presidential campaign. So

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dense and long-lived are Duke's Nazi associations, in fact, that you would think the only way he could escape them would be through reincarnation. Like the fictional General Guzman in Lawrence Thornton's novel *Imagining Argentina*, Duke "sees history from the time of the Romans to the rise of Hitler as a dark age in which men and women of many nations became philosophically perverted, denying the necessity of a single-minded vision, of the purity he believes Hitler saw and embraced as fiercely as a wild-eyed prophet . . . on a windy mountaintop." Like Guzman, too, he "has met secretly in heavily guarded houses deep in the jungle, or in cafes in tiny villages where he has looked across the table at Mengele and lesser exponents of that dream which he feels more than ever was defiled by the faint of heart, the women in man's spirit," communing with his mentors—if only, in Duke's case, in his dreams.

How much Duke's present admirers understand of his vision is open to question. His campaign literature avoids obvious racialist formulations while bluntly attacking the "illegitimate welfare rate," minority set-asides, illegal immigration and affirmative action in language designed to appeal to the "middle-class, productive" American. The Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, which follows Duke closely, believes he has been successful in detaching his past from his present, following a "dual strategy" by which "in public he promotes moderate conservatism, keyed to racial issues," while "within his activist circle, he continues a second campaign, a shadow campaign, [embodying his] long-term design, his dream of a genetically engineered super race, born into existence by a legion of white supremacists."

As unlikely as it seems that any American politician with even a hint of such a vision could get very far, the fact is that Duke is doing well. For his legislative campaign from tiny Metairie, more than $130,000 came in from supporters around the country, and his Senate race has raised more than $700,000 so far. He has a mailing list of about 30,000 donors. A poll commissioned by three-term Senator Johnston shows Duke with a 98 percent name recognition factor compared with Johnston's own 88 percent. General polls show Duke running with about 25 percent of the public's support, well ahead of the official Republican candidate, State Senator Ben Bagert, though far behind the 60 percent of Democratic incumbent Johnston. Since 26 percent of Louisiana's voters are black, Duke would need 70 percent of the white vote in order to get to Washington.

Throughout his career, Duke has consistently done better than people have expected. His staff points out that two days before he won his legislative seat polls showed him running behind, and concludes that people are reluctant to tell poll takers their true opinions—a view shared by reporters, who are seeing large crowds on the campaign trail. A similar phenomenon may be occurring at the legislature, where the House, against all predictions, passed a Duke-sponsored anti-affirmative action bill at the end of May, a development that left opponents so nonplused that one of them, searching for explanations other than that people agreed with the bill's contents, cited the full moon. According to recent reports, Duke is also finding himself increasingly more welcome in the New Orleans social and political establishment. With each step forward, the possibility of the Republican Party mobilizing against Duke decreases. Like other ideological politicians, he may sell out as he moves up—but then again, he may not. The only thing that can be said for certain is that as long as David Duke is in elective office—any office—the gap between the racial movement and conventional politics will get narrower.

III.

At 1:30 on the morning of November 13, 1988, in a peaceful residential neighborhood in Portland, Oregon, Kenneth Mieske, Kyle Brewster and Steven Strasser, skinheads, encountered Mulageta Seraw, Wondwosen Tesfaye and Tilahun Antneh, Ethiopians; the skinheads had a bat; and Seraw—the description of whose wounds makes chilling reading—died. The contents of the skinheads' apartments, searched shortly afterward, make equally chilling reading—bats and clubs in one, the latest racial propaganda in another, a veritable library on the rise and fall of the Third Reich in the third—all used by the district attorneys to prove what, from the moment the police first arrived at the scene, hardly anyone besides other skinheads has ever doubted: that it was a racially motivated attack and not a street fight that got out of hand and brought about the death of Mulageta Seraw.

The Portland story is worth examining because both locally and nationally it marked the beginning of a new realization that when you see a bunch of black-jacketed, heavy-booted storm troopers on TV, you might not be watching a World War II film; it could be the evening news. The three skinheads are in prison—Mieske, who pleaded guilty to murder, for a minimum of twenty years; Brewster and Strasser, who pleaded guilty to manslaughter, for a minimum of ten and nine years, respectively—but the case has acquired symbolic status, and neither within the neo-Nazi movement nor among its opponents has it been forgotten. Mieske and Brewster are now defendants in a $10 million civil lawsuit brought jointly by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League on behalf of Seraw's estate, a suit that by linking the Portland skinheads to Tom Metzger, John Metzger and the WAR organization is frankly intended to put Metzger out of business. Such a result was achieved by a similar suit won by S.P.L.C. attorney Morris Dees in Alabama in 1987, which, by obtaining a $7 million settlement from the United Klans of America for a woman whose son was murdered by members of the Klan, effectively shut it down.

The forthcoming Portland trial has both political and constitutional implications. Metzger was not in Portland at the time of the murder and he did not know the three skinheads—facts that Metzger, who is acting as his own attorney, has already pointed out. Whether the doctrine of "vicarious liability" of an organization for the acts of its members, applied in the Alabama case, can be applied in the case of a nonmembership organization like WAR will be an important question. Metzger is resurrecting the defense of the skinheads before their plea bargains that Seraw's death was the accidental outcome of a street brawl and therefore there was never any conspiracy for Metzger to have been part of in the first place. The

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S.P.L.C. maintains that Metzger sent agents to Portland to recruit and encourage the skinheads, thus creating the liability, of which more below. How far the inflammatory material in the *WAR* newspapers read by the skinheads is protected by the First Amendment will be another important issue. Although the A.C.L.U., which Metzger originally asked to represent him, turned him down, both the A.C.L.U. and the National Lawyers Guild have now entered as friends of the court, but on opposite sides. In yet unwritten briefs, the A.C.L.U. will argue that much of what Metzger has written and said is constitutionally protected and should be excluded from the trial; the Guild that "hate speech" such as Metzger's is different from "political speech," is not entitled to constitutional protection and is admissible. Given the weight being marshaled against Metzger, the stakes in the Portland trial are high. If Metzger should win, his position will be greatly strengthened; and the effectiveness of the S.P.L.C. and the A.D.L. will be correspondingly reduced. As the briefs of the lawyers become the reference point for what did or did not actually happen, innumerable details are likely to be lost. In particular, because of the lawsuit's emphasis on the role of Metzger, the story of the skinhead movement in Portland before WAR's involvement may well not be fully told. The relationship between local and national organizing in the racial movement today, however, is far too important a subject to be left to the courtroom. Whatever else may be forgotten in the national effort to curb Tom Metzger, it is essential to remember the local reality that before he ever attempted to organize skinheads, the skinheads had organized themselves.

The history of the infiltration of Portland's youth culture by Nazi ideas is difficult to document in detail, for it took place largely unnoticed by adults in a handful of clubs populated by people who were better participants than they were observers, but from conversations with a variety of onlookers, as well as from police records, newspaper accounts and other sources, at least a rudimentary outline emerges. The skinhead appearance in Portland seems, roughly speaking, to have followed a pattern established earlier in San Francisco, where, in reaction to the vaguely progressive or at least oppositional culture of punk, a group of musicians and their followers became steadily more "hard-core," driving themselves through a succession of musical and personal changes until they arrived first at the style and eventually at the substance of British racist bands such as Skrewdriver, which are explicitly associated with the fascist National Front.

In Portland a key event seems to have been a 1986 concert at the Pine Street Theater featuring the leftist—in punk terms—bill of Cheetah Chrome from Italy, BGK from Belgium and MDC from San Francisco which was broken up by a gang of fifty skinheads armed with bats, pipes and knives. The Cheetah Chrome concert was not the first mass appearance of the skinheads. From the early 1980s on, there were a rising number of brawls, beatings and slashings, directed not only at competing musical factions but at random customers, employees and passers-by; an atmosphere of intimidation became general; and around 1985, after a failed effort to protect its admirers from violence stimulated by fol-

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lowers of a racist heavy-metal band called Lockjaw, one of Portland's most popular punk bands, Poison Idea, even stopped playing. Things never went as far in Portland as they did in San Francisco, where, in 1985, after one too many skinhead/punk confrontations, the owner of the city's most famous punk club, the Mabuhay Gardens, closed it down. But after the Cheetah Chrome concert, the skinhead movement grew in both numbers and influence, and it began to dominate the scene.

The sources of this new *Zeitgeist* were more than musical. If the influences that set the stage for the murder of Seraw could ever be fully charted, first among them would probably be the drama of The Order and particularly that of its founder, Robert Mathews, whose escape from the F.B.I. at a Portland motel in November 1984 and death in a flaming house on Whidbey Island, Washington, in December were part of the city's psychic landscape during that period. Mathews's example so moved at least one local skinhead that he included a salute to the fallen leader on the jacket of his band's next record, along with a salute to Adolf Hitler. Of the many neo-Nazi leaders whose names surfaced regularly in the papers in connection with the demise of The Order and the trial of its survivors in Seattle in 1985, the closest to Portland geographically was pastor Richard Butler, whose Aryan Nations church in Idaho had alternately stimulated and bored the original Order members. When the assemblies of far-right ideologues known as the Aryan Nations congresses resumed in 1986, following an interruption during the Order period, skinheads from Portland were among those in attendance. Butler also maintains a "prison ministry" and in that way attracted the allegiance of Kenneth Mieske, a popular figure in the Portland rock scene and lead singer in a hate metal band called Machine. Mieske returned to the city in the summer of 1987, from a stay in the state penitentiary for petty theft, as a committed white supremacist. Still another presence was Rick Cooper, who had moved up from California in 1985 and gradually began playing a subtle role in making young skinheads more aware both of their Nazi political and ideological heritage and of one another. Finally, among the elements contributing to making Portland fertile ground should probably be counted a continuing infusion of new skins, many from California, who, drawn by the city's perpetual reputation as a place to do one's own thing unimpeded, began drifting in and doing it as early as 1986, much as their unshorn predecessors had done before them.

"THE CONSERVATIVE DILEMMA"
by A. Wyatt Mann
...GEE, I HOPE THESE RACIST SKINHEAD KIDS CAN GET SOMETHING DONE ABOUT THIS BLACK PROBLEM BEFORE THE LIBERAL OUTCRY FORCES ME TO LOCK THEM ALL UP...

The neo-Nazis' view of the relationship of their own brand of racism to the rest of society's. WAR, *Vol. 9, No. 1.*

The clearest marker for the emergence of the skinheads from the clubs to the streets is probably early 1988, when ideological links between such acts as the desecration of a synagogue and an attack on a homosexual couple led police to begin keeping records:

§ "Black male victim is assaulted and called 'nigger' and 'jungle bunny' by three members of Youth of Hitler."

§ "Business was burglarized and vandalized. The suspect painted 'Nazi Rule, White Power, Die No Name Jew, Die Nigger Lover, White Rule'."

§ "A note saying 'Niggers get out' was left on a [white female's] car parked in front of her home. The WF claimed to have seen skinheads in the area and is willing to press charges. She is dating a BM [black male] and felt the note to be specific harassment."

On March 10, 1988, an event occurred that for the first time focused public attention on what was happening in the streets. Hock-Seng (Sam) Chin, a native of Singapore married to a white woman, was leaving a Thai restaurant in downtown Portland with his wife and child when he was set upon by three skinheads who shouted, "Go back to Hong Kong" and "Get out of our country," called his daughter a "fucking slant" and denounced his wife as a "race traitor" for being married to someone nonwhite. Portland police have had their own collisions with minorities at times, but when one of the skinheads continued his tirade even after his arrest by insisting that the United States should exclude Asian visitors and trade, it was clearly too much. "I suggested before he talked about business & trade maybe he should get an education," notes the arresting officer's report. Concern about this and other skinhead incidents, initially confined to the police, was soon widely shared. Coverage in the daily *The Oregonian* increased, and in mid-May a lengthy article in *Willamette Week* took a close look at a neo-Nazi skinhead gang called POWAR (Preservation of the White American Race). Shortly afterward members of the gang appeared live on the Sunday evening TV show *Town Hall*, a program of the ABC affiliate KATU-TV and an important local forum.

The *Town Hall* program deserves special attention, for unlike its national counterparts it features real discussion, and it represented a largely sincere attempt on the part of the skins to communicate with the public in a reasonable fashion. It occurred nearly half a year before Seraw's murder, and may also suggest something of the state of mind of skinheads in other areas where organizing by a sophisticated national leadership has not taken place. Pressed by the moderator to explain themselves, the dozen or so skins produced a stumbling but plainly heartfelt array of statements—"I'm standing up for what I believe in, fighting for a cause"; "we're trying to

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unite the white people"; "we want our culture to still be here for future generations, we don't want to lose it"; "today we have a lot of black history, African history, things like that, but no awareness of what it means to be white; we're human too."—that in the confrontational atmosphere of *Geraldo* or *Oprah* would have sounded deliberately provocative or else rhetorical, but which here became the expressions of an uncertain sense of cultural and individual identity.

The program's most intense moments came as a result of a demand by the president of Portland's police union, not noted for his liberal views, to know just what role Nazi ideology played in the POWAR organization. "A cause is one thing," he said, shaking with a palpably generational rage, "but these young people weren't even around when [World War II was fought]. . . . In a local newspaper they had a picture of this young lad here standing next to a swastika. . . . Now to have that swastika hanging on the wall next to an American flag is a damned insult. . . . There's a lot of white people that were killed in that war, not necessarily blacks or Asians or Jews as the case may be; they were just a lot of American soldiers regardless of race killed in that damn war, and if [the skinheads] have adopted the philosophy of the Gestapo kind of people, they've adopted a very dangerous philosophy." Taken up by the moderator, who itemized the militaria in the photo in question, including a Nazi battlefield flag with the Iron Cross, a Hitler T-shirt worn by a skin who was also on the program, the death's head symbol of the S.S. and various swastikas, the inventory elicited responses from several skinheads on the program.

§ Kelly, a handsome, soft-spoken young man who was POWAR's more or less official spokesman, said: "There are various symbols of the white man's attempt to be pure: the swastika, the Rebel flag and so on. We do not support the Third Reich attitudes for, say, genocide or the mass extermination of a certain race in any way."

§ Michelle, a 21-year-old heavily tattooed woman, who noted that she had been a skin for about five years, said: "I don't agree with those philosophies in the sense of violence and extermination but there are philosophies from that era that we all claim as having something to do with the preservation of the white race. We've taken something from the past and fine-tuned it toward the future."

§ John, a younger skin from Salem, Oregon, said: "O.K., at that point our country was divided. Half of our country was for Germany and half of our country was for England. Because of our President, we went with England. If it hadn't happened that way, who's to say if it would be immoral for us to have a swastika beside an American flag?"

"So you're saying the country was half-divided?" asked the astonished moderator. "Do you recall the vote in Congress to declare war on Germany? It was 535 to 1."

"Yes, but that was because of the beliefs of our Congress, who was in office at that time," replied John from Salem.

WAR Moves In

The POWAR show had important consequences, not the least of which was that skinheads were suddenly famous. The gang itself, accused by other skins of undue moderation—and thus of giving the movement a bad name—had its "asses kicked" when it returned to the street, one skin told me. It was soon defunct, but other groups crystallized or became more active, and incidents multiplied. It was approximately then, in the summer of 1988, that the Portland scene, with its rising number of recruits, seems to have attracted the attention of Tom Metzger, who began in effect to compete with Butler for the allegiance of the Portland skins. Thanks to the sponsorship of Rick Cooper, who arranged the *Town Hall* program and many other media appearances for local skins, *Race and Reason* began its regular airing on Portland cable television in July 1988; at some point in this period, Metzger's son, John, in his capacity as president of the Aryan Youth Movement, began corresponding with members of the skinhead gang East Side White Pride, which included Mieske, Brewster and Strasser; and in early fall three organizers from the Metzger youth camp, most important among them Dave Mazzella, vice president of A.Y.M., and Mike Barrett, also a California skinhead leader, arrived.

With the appearance of Mazzella and Barrett the intersection of the Portland skinheads and the Metzger organization begins, for with their portable credentials, including videotapes of their appearances on such television programs as *Oprah* and *The Morton Downey Jr. Show*, their vanload of WAR literature and a certain amount of ready cash, the California skins were the most experienced organizers the Portland skinheads had ever seen. This is not to say that the Portland skinheads rolled over. Even after Mazzella moved into the apartment Steve Strasser shared with other skinheads and began paying the rent, there were some who distrusted him. He was "silver-tongued," I was told, a big talker, full of "plans" and "connections"; problems arose between him and the local skinheads not only over issues but, in one case at least, over a girl. But he was known to be close to the Metzgers, particularly John; Mazzella and his wife had even been married in a ceremony performed by Tom; he was good at talking to high school students and on the news; and there is no doubt that from the time of his arrival Mazzella was a central figure.

On the afternoon of November 11, 1988, ABC aired the famous *Geraldo* program on which, after what must have been some of the ugliest dialogue about blacks and Jews ever broadcast in this country, a number of skinheads, including John Metzger, provoked the fight that ended with Geraldo Rivera's nose being broken. Whether the Portland skinheads actually watched it or not I do not know, but if they did not it would be surprising, because the show was an eagerly anticipated event in WAR-skinhead circles and because of Mazzella's friendship with John. The day after the program, skinhead activity in Portland reached a new pitch. In the afternoon there was a meeting of East Side White Pride with Mazzella and Barrett at the apartment of one of the skinheads. In the early evening, following a skinhead tradition known as "Boys Night Out," the boys began distributing the WAR newspaper and attempting to recruit from the street in downtown Portland for the first time, while the girls went to the Pine Street Theater, where they attacked a Jewish man in

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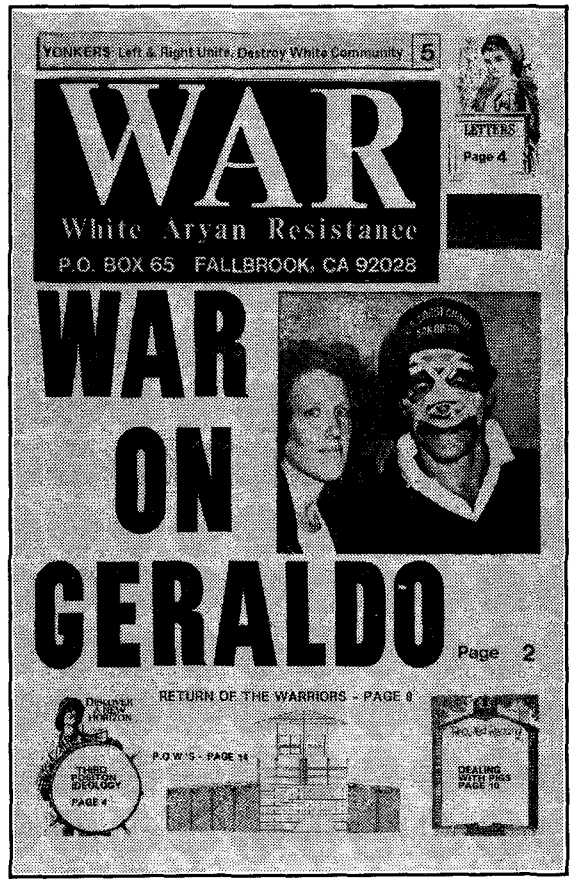
the parking lot. Later they all regrouped at the apartment of another skinhead, at a party that also included Mazzella and Barrett; and it was after leaving that party, around 1 A.M., drunk both on alcohol and racist ideas, that the carload of skins encountered the carload of Ethiopians, and Mulageta Seraw died.

Now, if the link between the Portland skinheads and the WAR organization was simply that WAR organizers came to Portland, skinhead activity increased and a man was killed, that would be a sorry story, but at least it would have an ending. But it is not the ending, because the person who led the police to Mieske, Brewster and Strasser a few days after the murder was Dave Mazzella. On November 16 he was giving one of his many Portland TV interviews on the evening news; on November 17, he was closeted with the police, giving them an account of the bloody event as told to him by Strasser; and not long afterward, following a few months of erratic movements in and out of Portland during which he sometimes was, and sometimes was not, picked up by the police, he became increasingly elusive. Whether Mazzella was a plant of a police or intelligence agency in the Metzger organization all along; whether he turned against Metzger on his own, either out of principle or convenience; or whether he is simply a blabbermouth is something else I do not know, but considering his key role and the fact that if it were not for Mazzella's presence in Portland Seraw might well be alive, the possibility that Mazzella was not only an agent of Tom Metzger but an *agent provocateur* of somebody else cannot, at this point, be discounted. The confession of a "turned" participant was a key element of S.P.L.C. attorney Morris Dees's success in the Alabama Klan case. When the Metzger trial begins in Portland, possibly in October, Mazzella, along with Barrett, who has already signed a compliant affidavit, and Steve Strasser, who is conspicuously excluded from Dees's complaint, could well be among the central witnesses.



WAR*'s coverage of the brawl on* Geraldo.

Since the death of Seraw, skinhead activity in Portland has only intensified. Not only have the number of individual hate crimes attributed to skinheads and other white supremacists continued to increase but antiracist skin gangs have also emerged, encouraged in part by the San Francisco-based, leftist John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, in part by the militant Portland Coalition for Human Dignity, and confrontations are escalating. Fights between gangs of skinheads and gangs of blacks are also being reported. In recent months Tom Metzger has gained prominence, maintaining two Portland message lines where previously he had none, speaking with the press and on talk shows in connection with the lawsuit and generally keeping things moving. A good example of the underground spread of his influence occurred recently when, soon after Metzger, for reasons known only to himself, referred on his message line to *The Oregonian* as the "Oralgonian," the same word appeared on a new message line run by young people who describe themselves as Christian Identity but whose language echoes Metzger's (as well as Butler's, Mathews's and even George Lincoln Rockwell's) in several respects. There is little doubt that whatever the outcome, with the forthcoming trial gathering national publicity, Metzger's visibility will only increase.

Attempting to account for the skinhead phenomenon nationally, some observers have arrived at the usual explanations—inadequate economic opportunity, individual pathology and broken homes—that, for Portland at least, appear to me to be insufficient. Although it is true that today's skinheads are members of the first generation that cannot expect to make more money than its parents, which undoubtedly plays a part, they are young, many still live at home, and they do not appear to worry about money much. They come from every suburb, wealthy to working-class, and from an array of families whose "functionality" or "dysfunctionality" appears to be no different from that of the people next door. As for individual pathology, even in the case of Kenneth Mieske, who wielded the bat that killed Seraw, opposing psychologists for the prosecution and defense said, respectively, "He has an interesting psychological profile which does not indicate the presence of serious psychological problems" and "I would not characterize him as showing a personality disorder"—though whether that is more of a commentary on Mieske or on the psychologists is hard to say.

My own look at the Portland skinheads suggests, rather, an acute degree of painfully personal racial discomfort, which is finding its natural expression in a primitive political movement. Comparing the Portland of his youth with the Portland of today, a skinhead in his mid-20s sounded almost plaintive as he explained that "Portland isn't safe anymore and it's never going to get better; it will never be the same." Another said he didn't mind if black people went everywhere and did everything they wanted, but sometimes he and his friends just liked to be "alone." Closely entwined with a sense of loss is a sense of fear. The middle-class girl driving the car in which the skinheads involved in the Seraw murder were riding was

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carrying a gun given to her by her father for protection. The mother of one skinhead, upon pressing her son to explain the weapons that are part of his uniform, got a desperate, "Ma, you just don't understand." Not only do Portland skinheads I talked to cite black gangs as the crucial factor in their own gang formation, but their anxiety is so free-floating that those in attendance at bail hearings for the Seraw case—including one of the passengers in the car—claim to have thought that not just the Ethiopians in the car with Seraw but even, at one point, a black observer in the courtroom, was either a Crip or a Blood. Whether the sense of intimidation felt by young whites is associated with any substantive improvements for blacks in Portland, it is not possible to say, but it is true that, like many cities, Portland has, in the lifetime of this generation, changed from an informally segregated city to an open one; that schools, parks, bus stops and malls once divided are now used by all; and that the resulting encounters between young people of different races at times and places adults rarely tread have left a wake of ill feeling that the city's predominantly liberal political establishment has been slow to acknowledge.

To what extent the skinhead movement is simply a punk version of racism elsewhere in the city and not a separable phenomenon is another question that has not been adequately discussed, but certainly the case could easily be made. Throughout the city, crimes of the sort formerly committed largely by skinheads are now frequently committed by other white supremacists as well, and while the children have been in the streets, adults have been engaged in a subtler but no less ugly struggle against the renaming of a city thoroughfare for Martin Luther King Jr. This campaign has not only resurrected the political careers of two long-term leaders of the right in Oregon, Walter and Rosalie Huss, but has brought to the city such racist leaders as Richard Barrett, head of the Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement, who before the Seraw murder usually stayed away. In these circumstances, to attribute the disturbances in Portland or any other city to Tom Metzger is like attributing the civil rights movement to outside agitators. Wherever he can find a forum, Metzger operates, but he does not create the conditions in which his words make sense. From individual white insecurity to a collective white identity; from a collective white identity to the necessity of white supremacy; and from the necessity of white supremacy to the movement for Aryan victory, with all that it implies—it is on this classic political journey from experience to ideology that Tom Metzger, among others, is attempting to lead the skinheads, but before they ever encountered him, the experience was already there.

Epilogue: 'Can It Happen Here?'

In historical writing about racism there is a tradition in which the author acknowledges the inevitable incompleteness of his or her treatment of so large and unending a subject. Thus David Chalmers, in his 1965 history of the Klan, *Hooded Americanism*, quotes the Klan's first historian, Walter Fleming, who wrote in 1905, "There is still much that is obscure about the Ku Klux Klan and I shall be glad to obtain additional information . . . and to receive notices of mistakes

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and errors in this account." George Mosse, in his history of European racism, *Toward the Final Solution*, titles his last chapter, "A Conclusion That Does Not Conclude." The preceding pages are no exception. With the neo-Nazi movement continuing to unfold in both the United States and Europe, there is more—much more—to be said. From questions about the internal character of the movement to its external connections, my own list of topics untouched here is long, and readers will undoubtedly have many questions of their own.

Anyone approaching the movement with the seriousness it deserves is immediately faced with another dilemma also remarked on by historians: maintaining intellectual perspective, a problem shared by virtually every Klan-watch organization and individual Klan watcher today. As someone who has spent the last year and a half flooded with materials from and about the movement, I have to say that, again, I am no exception. When the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* arrives in your mailbox in a plain wrapper and you have grasped its currency in the minds of people at the other mailboxes where it is also arriving in a plain wrapper, you tend to forget that is just about the only way to get it these days. When you have listened enough to the British band Skrewdriver playing and singing "Race and Nation," "White Power" and "Tomorrow Belongs to Me," it is hard to remember the Rolling Stones. Once you have learned that you can celebrate Hitler's birthday by buying, among other things, a teddy bear ("The Dolf Bear has the Fuhrer's famous mustache and you can even comb his black hair"), you forget that with less rigmarole you can walk into any toy store and buy Shakesbeare, Paddington or Pooh. Apart from the sheer quantity of material, there is something about its character that is spellbinding. I know that I looked forward to the biweekly showings of *Race and Reason* in Portland and I believe that other observers with whom I was in contact around the country did too. There is even a kind of excited trade in these materials—"I'll trade you Baxter for Monique," or, more accurately, "You can copy my Baxter if I can copy your Monique"—as researchers and activists share a sense of mutual astonishment: What will they say next? It is hard to avoid the feeling that the neo-Nazis are everywhere, embedded in everything, Tomorrow the World.

In addition to the problem of intellectual perspective, there is also a problem of political perspective, which is in many respects the reverse: namely, a tendency to minimize or marginalize the neo-Nazis by defining them as "extremists" and denying their relationship to racial issues as a whole. Civil rights activists point out that the Reagan Administration, for example, prosecuted violent, racially motivated crimes such as The Order's while simultaneously endorsing one of the racial movement's essential premises, that it is time for black preference programs to end. Again, the historians can be helpful. In his book, *The Old Christian Right*, about William Pelley, Gerald Winrod and Gerald L.K. Smith in the 1930s, Leo Ribuffo makes the case that the " 'extremism' of the far right often converged with the cultural and political mainstream," a point also made by historians of racism in other places and times. "The theory segregating far right villainy from the mainstream obscures the sources of indecency," Ribuffo goes on.

As unexceptional as such a proposition may appear when applied to the past, however, when applied to the present it becomes controversial. The Anti-Defamation League—the government's principal adviser on these matters—prefers a line of reasoning that labels the neo-Nazis as "extremists," an approach that, in the A.D.L.'s view, leads to effective prosecution, which in turn diminishes the force of the movement—fewer overt acts, fewer models to follow—and puts it in a category with both far-left and black anti-Semitism, which is where the organization feels the neo-Nazis belong. The implications of one's definition of the problem are extremely important, both in interpreting the racial movement and in deciding on courses of action. In assessing the extent of anti-Semitic feeling in the Midwest during the farm crisis of the early 1980s, a period of heightened Posse Comitatus activity, almost all observers, including The American Jewish Committee, reported more anti-Semitism than did the A.D.L., which was particularly concerned lest a majority of American farmers be branded anti-Semitic when they were not. In considering whether to support a demonstration against the Aryan Nations in Idaho last year, nearly all local and regional grass-roots antiracist groups, including the Rainbow Coalition, agreed to do so; the A.D.L. did not, citing the burden on local law enforcement authorities of keeping the racist and antiracist demonstrators apart. The general position of the A.D.L. is that the problem is serious but not too serious, and that the authorities have it well in hand.

Knowing only too well that in criticizing the A.D.L. one can find oneself in undesirable company, it seems to me, nonetheless, that its strategy of containment rests on a fallacy.

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The neo-Nazis' ideology and activities are certainly "extreme," but they exist along a racist continuum on which it is difficult to draw a line. Granted that the situation could be a lot worse, but with the rising number of hate crimes occurring simultaneously with the rise in influence of the neo-Nazi movement, can it really be described as being in hand? As a Jew with my own reading of history, the combination of minimizing the problem and trusting authority makes me uneasy. If the problem were limited to "extremists," prosecutions would, in fact, suffice; but if it is general, nothing short of a painful national self-assessment will be required. Since we do not know under what circumstances the present movement could become something more, I for one am glad that in addition to the cautious accountings of the A.D.L. we have the broad-based, antiracist organizing of the Center for Democratic Renewal, the aggressive litigation of the S.P.L.C., the militance of the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee and the activities of countless other organizations and individuals throughout the United States, because we need every one. The premature consolidation of a monolithic viewpoint about a movement we still understand so little is not in anyone's interest.

I want to return one final time to the words of a historian, again George Mosse. Anyone writing on Nazis or anything connected with Nazis is invariably asked the one question everyone always wonders about, the dread question, the Sinclair Lewis question, "Can it happen here?" and in being confronted with this several times in the course of this work, I came to see that the key word in the question is obviously "it." If "it" means another Hitler, the answer is probably no, if only because history does not literally repeat. But there are subtler forms of repetition. In a period of declining national authority manifested everywhere from our weakening social structure to our worsening economic position, a movement is stirring that explains it all, and people are starting to listen. In following the course of racism and anti-Semitism from the fringes to the center of German thought, and from theory to practice, Mosse remarks, "In 1930 . . . in Germany [the] left [and] the center had to argue on the terrain occupied by the racist right . . . one of the Nazis' principal victories before seizing power." That much, I now think, can happen here and is, indeed, beginning to happen; and that is the problem already posed by the American neo-Nazi movement today. □

Acknowledgments

This article has benefited from the help of many people who contributed material about specific points, including some who prefer not to be named. For their repeated, open-ended or unusually generous cooperation I would particularly like to thank Chip Berlet of Political Research Associates; Loren Christenson of the Portland Police Department; Gail Gans of the Anti-Defamation League; Jonathan Mozzochi of the Portland Coalition for Human Dignity; Lisa Roth of the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, and Leonard Zeskind of the Center for Democratic Renewal. Deborah Schwartz provided valuable research.

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THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

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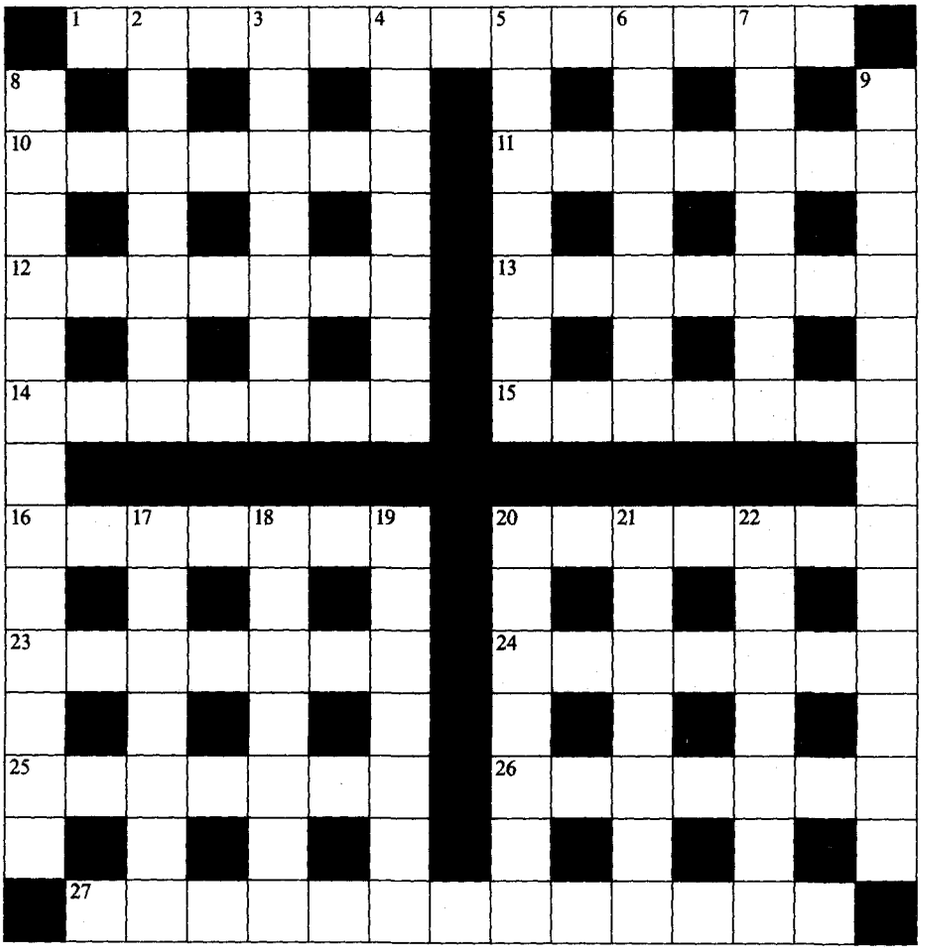
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2297

A	D	D	R	E	S	S	■	L	I	G	H	T	E	R
L	■	R	■	P	■	P	■	O	■	R	■	E	■	E
F	E	A	T	H	E	R	■	U	N	E	A	R	T	H
R	■	W	■	E	■	I	■	V	■	G	■	R	■	E
E	M	E	N	D	■	T	H	E	I	G	U	A	N	A
D	■	R	■	R	■	E	■	R	■	■	■	C	■	R
■	T	■	T	I	E	S	■	S	E	C	R	E	T	S
D	O	E	■	N	■	■	■	■	■	R	■	S	H	E
E	P	S	T	E	I	N	■	D	I	E	T	■	E	■
M	■	C	■	■	■	I	■	I	■	S	■	J	■	W
U	N	A	V	E	N	G	E	D	■	C	L	O	S	E
S	■	P	■	R	■	H	■	E	■	E	■	K	■	I
S	E	A	S	A	L	T	■	R	U	N	N	I	N	G
E	■	D	■	T	■	O	■	O	■	D	■	N	■	H
T	E	E	S	O	F	F	■	T	H	O	U	G	H	T

Crossword Puzzle No. 2298

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Just what some might consider a socially ultra-conservative blond! (4,3,6)
10 Such walks are probably 14. (7)
11 Central Taxi? Take a horse around it, it's so gruesome! (7)
12 I've got twisted up in pain, but get something for it. (7)
13 The old capital of Egypt and the capital of Turkey is tops! (3,4)
14 Don't try to be on target so much a smile's not hard to figure out! (7)
15 Even this bomb has been proven dangerous! (Lola lost her head wildly around Cupid.) (7)
16 A no-good blower. (3,4)
20 The beginning of a long list of complaints, perhaps. (Stir, stir and soar around!) (7)
23 and 21 down When the brass is let go, this may be what the press bulletin might be for. (7,7)
24 Under India, there's a place where this capital goes sort of loco with an unruly mob. (7)
25 Certainly no tribal marriage could be termed this! (A former spouse to go back with one of those little women!) (7)
26 Social climbers might hope to 12 one. (7)
27 *Rather* and *Koppel* seem to have a way with them, but this is associated with the Navy. (7,6)

DOWN

2 and 17 Freer, well known? (7,7)
3 Tell someone like a 23 that he has no duty to perform? (In France the dream is riddled with falsehood!) (7)
4 Birds, or just some of the early settlers? (7)
5 A large island has some skill with the morning America coming up. (7)
6 It's not certain it would be disastrously powerful if the head were turned. (7)
7 and 22 What might be worn with bad weather pounding down, giving unthinking approval. (6-8)
8 For the trolley, the end of the line, to a certain extent. (2,3,2,2,4)
9 Capable intellectually, people count noises. (8,5)
17 See 2
18 Are confused in small measurement, but you can grab things this way. (2,5)
19 Hold-up artist? (7)
20 If such a variety of flower is possible, this is it. (7)
21 Again let this to be let out! (7)
22 See 7 down

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. Find out why "little skipper" is a "truant." Send for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's Ground Rules to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

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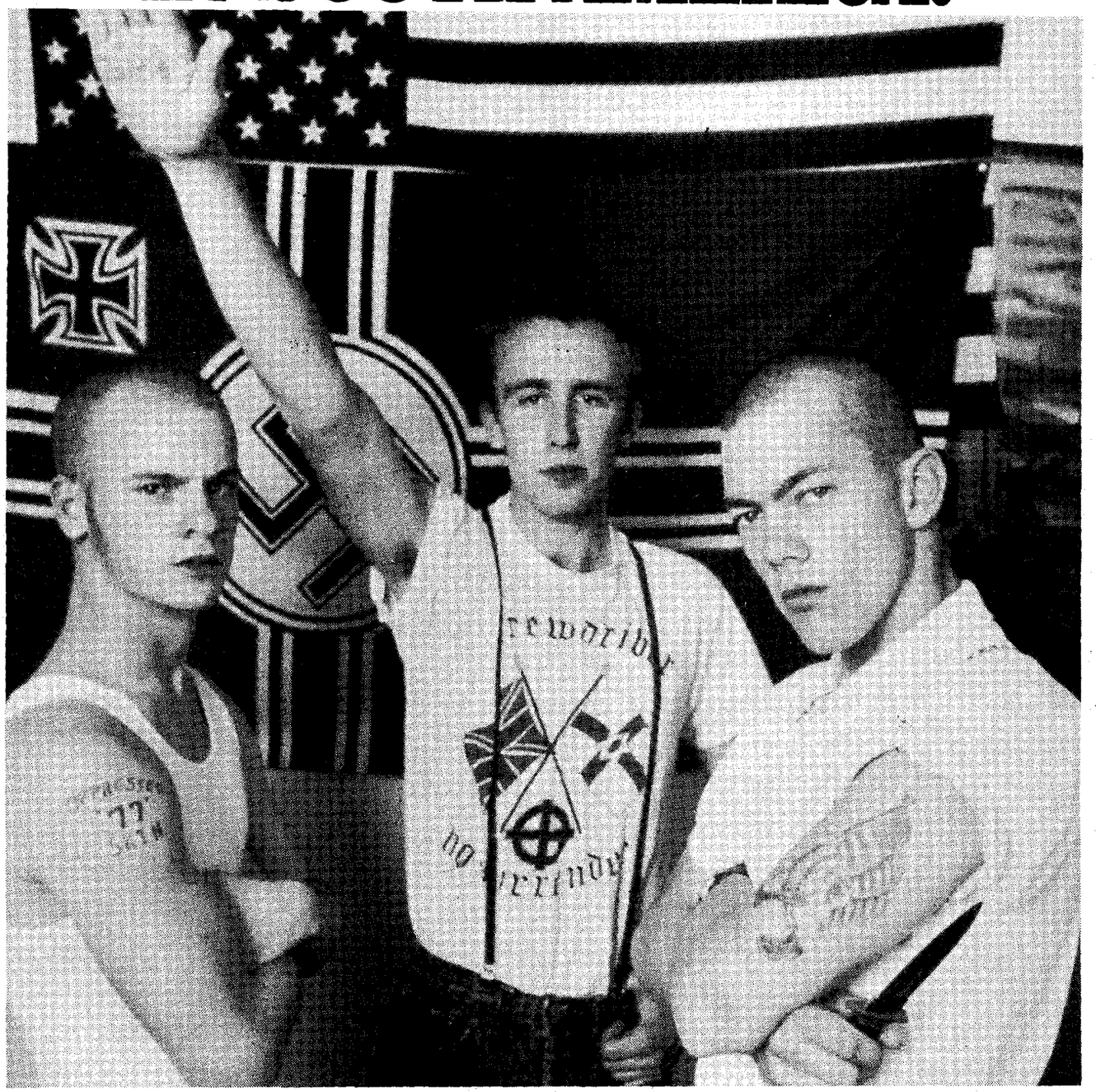
NOT ALL NAZIS ARE LIVING IN SOUTH AMERICA.



They're living in places like Hayden Lake, Idaho, where an organization called the Aryan Nations maintains its 20-acre, whites-only compound.

A compound that is the site of an annual national congress for hate groups from around the country, and that has a church where the "minister" preaches that Jews are "children of Satan."

They're in places like Fallbrook, California, where an organization called the White Aryan Resistance is headquartered.

Headed by a former Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, the organization recruits high school students to become neo-Nazi "skinheads" and publishes a newspaper which recently ran this headline: "Happy Birthday Uncle Adolf."

And they're in places like Costa Mesa, California, where an organization called the Institute for Historical Review is dedicated to promoting the incredible notion that the Holocaust never occurred.

It hosts conventions, and publishes articles and books which claim, for example, that *The Diary of Anne Frank* is a hoax, and that the photographs of concentration camps have been falsified.

Fortunately, there is an organization dedicated to working against these groups: The Anti-Defamation League.

The ADL tracks the activities of these groups. Works with lawmakers to enact legislation which makes it harder for them to operate. And with law enforcement officials to apprehend them when they break those laws.

Please give us your support.

Hundreds of thousands of Americans lost their lives fighting the Nazis in World War II.

Is this what they had in mind?

Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017

Yes, I want to help the ADL fight neo-Nazi violence. I have enclosed my tax deductible contribution of:

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ADL Anti-Defamation League

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